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THE GROWTH OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE KĀḌAVARĀYAS

BY K. S. VAIDYANATHAN, B.A.

IN the hostility of the Kāḍavas with the Adigamāṉ king and his ally Kaṟkaṭagamārāyaṉ,—revealed in the verse inscription from Vridhachalam,—one may find the seed that eventually sprouted forth in the open rebellion of the Kāḍava chiefs, Māṇavaḷapperumal and Peruñjiṅga. The Koṅgu country which was divided into two principal divisions, north and south, was first conquered by the Cōḷa King Āditya I and ever since that time Cōḷa supremacy was acknowledged in that quarter. In the southern division of Koṅgu, we find a regular succession of kings bearing Cōḷa names and titles, from the time of Rājarāja I in the beginning of the 11th century A.D. to almost the end of the 14th century. Though information is not forthcoming as regards the question whether the first member of the Koṅgu Cōḷa line of the South Koṅgu was a prince of the Cōḷa family there is room for thinking that the kings of the new dynasty remained loyal subordinates of

the Cōḷas. The history of the Koṅgu-Cōḷas of the South Koṅgu reminds one of the Eastern Cāḷukya kings of Vēṅgi. While this was the case in South Koṅgu, North Koṅgu has a somewhat similar account to tell us. It had its capital in Ṭagaḍūr in Ṭagaḍūr-nāḍu, which country came to be termed Nigariliśōḷa-maṇḍalam after its Cōḷa overlord. The renaming of the province shows that it was once subject to the authority of the Cōḷas.

From times long past the Madhurāntaka Pottapi Cōḷas were holding a subordinate position under the Cōḷas. They were at first occupying a portion of the Ceded districts, but subsequently they moved down and settled in the vicinity of Kāñchi. The Kāḍavas of Kūdal were their neighbours and they found themselves in conflict with them in the years just preceding A. D. 1186. The claim of a Kāḍava chief to have prostrated to the ground the king of the North[1] must have reference to it, for at this early date we do not find any other northern power. The successful attempt of the Kūḍal chief was followed by his defeating the Adigamāṉ and his ally Kaṟkaṭagamārāyaṉ, who like the Madhurāntaka Pottapi Cōḷas were subordinates of the Cōḷas. Nallasiddha's claim to have captured Kāñchi may have been a direct and subsequent action that followed the conflict between the Kāḍava chief and the Madhurāntaka Pottapi Cōḷas. The devastation of the country of the Adigamāṉ by the Kāḍava chief appears to have been reported to the Cōḷa emperor for settlement. What was done by the Cōḷa king to maintain the 'balance of power' among his subordinates,—and more particularly to keep within bounds the growing power of the Kāḍavas,—may be inferred reading between the lines in a record dated three years later *i.e.* in A.D. 1189.[2] Though this record is only a compact between Kūḍal Araśanārāyaṇaṉ Āḷappirandāṉ Kāḍavarāyaṉ,—who to judge from the time and titles, is no doubt identical with Vīraśekharaṉ Kāḍavarāyaṉ,—and Seṅgēṇi Vīras'oḷaṉ Attimallaṉ Kulōthungas'ōḷa Sambhuvarāyaṉ against another member of the Sambhuvarāya family, *viz.* Edirilis'ōḷa Sambhuvarāyaṉ, we find it stated that the Cōḷa emperor directed the

1. No. 74 of 1918. Vriddhachalam Inscription.
2. No. 254 of 1919.

Kāḍava to confine himself within certain specified limits, that the chief ought not to form any alliance either offensive or defensive with certain other neighbouring chiefs and that he should not share in the spoils in the affrays in which he was allowed to take part. It is specifically stated that the transgression of limits on the part of the Kāḍava would result in the emperor's forces marching against him and causing him injury. Similar conditions seem to have been imposed also on the Adigamāṉ. But the injunction did not keep them long within bounds or bring about peace and amity between the two families. The support of the powerful Bāṇa chiefs was obtained by the Kāḍavas. Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṉ, better known as Maṅavāḷapperumāḷ, the successor of Vīras'ēkhara Kāḍavarāyaṉ, and two Bāṇa chiefs became so alarmingly powerful that it was considered expedient to form a confederacy of eleven chiefs in A.D. 1205, and they were made to swear allegience to the throne of the emperor, and any sort of communication with the Kāḍavarāya and Bāṇa chiefs was prohibited[3]. Even this confederacy proved to be of no avail, as we find the Kāḍava trying to assert his independence. The differences between the Kādava and the Adigamāṉ and the restriction put on the former by the emperor to confine his activities to a limited sphere should no doubt have made him attempt to throw off his allegience to the Cōḷa. In this humiliating position the Kāḍava chief could not remain long, and there is every likelihood that he joined the ranks of the emperor's enemies.

It will be easy to understand how the Kāḍavas of Kūḍal who were the subordinates of the Cōḷas for four or five generations came to be finally alienated from the side of their overlords and became their bitter enemies, if we can know how the main powers of South India stood during the time of the Pāṇḍyan civil war. One of the outstanding features of that long protracted unrest in the extreme South of the peninsula was that, against the party of Parākrama Pāṇḍya and his son Vīra Pāṇḍya who invited the foreign forces of the Singhalese for aid, were ranged the Cōḷas and

3. No. 516 of 1902 and Q.J.M.S. Vol. XXXI. No. 1. Pp. 53-57 "Note on Bāṇa and Pāllava relationship in Circa A.D. 1200—80."

the Koṅgu. There is reason to believe that among the last two very cordial relationship existed. It is a patent fact that the Cōḷas had cause to fear the Singhalese on whom they had brought untold miseries by making part of Ceylon a Cōḷa Colony.

Māṟavaraman Sundra Pāṇḍya I waged a fierce battle against the Cōḷā King Kulōtunga III, in the last years of that King's reign, and after inflicting defeat, gave the Crown of the Cōḷas to the Bāṇas at first [4]. This fact clearly emphasises the high confidence this Pāṇḍya king had placed on the Bāṇa chief, and the important part the Bāṇa must have played as the ally of the Pāṇḍya. When the defeated king, who was deprived of his crown and country, and who ran to the forest, hearing that the conqueror had commanded him to attend the state audience at Poṉṉamarāvati with a promise of being restored, the Cōḷa, 'returned with his wife and presenting his son first, himself remaining behind, prostrated before the victorious lion throne of the conqueror and begged.'[5] The Pāṇḍya having chartered the terms by which the Cōḷa king had to abide thereafter, conferred on the Cōḷa king's son, Rājarāja III, the lesser title of '*Chōḷapati*', the crown and an expansive territory.[6] This happened in Circa A.D. 1216, from which date Rājarāja III counts his regnal years.

It is clear that in the Pāṇḍyan civil war the chief powers of Southern India were divided into two factions, one of which counted in its ranks the Cōḷa and Hoysala kings with their generals and subordinate chiefs supporting the members of the line of

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4. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXII. p. 42; No. 47 of 1937-8 and A.R. on S. I. Ep. 1938 p. 94,

5. Compare the treatment which Kulottunga III meted out to the Pandya and Chera kings in the stanza:—

திருவிழந்த தென்னவனுஞ் சேரலனும் வந்திறைஞ்சி
அரியணையின் கீழிருக்க வவரமுடிமேலடிவைத்து
படிவழங்கி முடிவழங்கிப் பாண்டியற்கு விடைகொடுத்துக்
கொடி வழங்கு வில்லவற்குக் கொற்றவர் பெறுதிருவழங்கி

Cōḷavamsa Charitam p. 113 n.

6. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXII p. 42 and Vol. XXIV p. 160,

Kulas'ēkhara Pāṇḍya and the other had in its side the members of the line of Parākrama Pāṇḍya and Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya supported by the Pallava (Kāḍavarāya) and Bāṇa chiefs of the mainland and the Singhalese forces. [7]

The Cōḷas had contracted an alliance with the powerful Hoysalas and a few years later, Rājarāja III, assumed a defiant attitude against the Pāṇḍya, wishing perhaps to wipe out his former disgraceful crowning by the Pāṇḍya victor Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya I, but certainly to cease his obligation to pay him tribute. It is stated that in the fifth year corresponding to A.D. 1220-1 he resolved not to remain submissive under the feet of him (the Pāṇḍya) who formerly gave him his crown, refrained from executing the commands (of the Pāṇḍyan as agreed upon), refused to pay (the agreed tribute) and sent forth a large army against Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya I.[8] In about the same time the Bāṇas rose again and the Cōḷa king sought the aid of his ally and relative, the Hoysala Narasimha II. The first enemy against whom the Hoysala forces waged war was the Bāṇa, for it was on him the conquered crown of the Cōḷas was at first bestowed by the Pāṇḍya and because we have seen that the Bāṇa and the Kāḍava chiefs were attempting to become independent of their erstwhile Cōḷa overlord. In A. D. 1222 the Hoysala king Narasimha II started from his capital with the object of establishing the Cōḷa firmly on his throne [9], conquered the Bāṇa [10], and the Kāḍava[11], and marching against Ranga in the south [12], defeated the forces of the Pāṇḍya that had opposed the army sent by the defiant Cōḷa king and which in a deadly war had caused great damage and succeeded in establishing a new capital in the south

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7. *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XXIV. p. 161.
8. *Ibid.* Vol. XXII. p. 22 f.
9. Compare a record of Narasimha of A.D. 1223 which says 'why describe his forcible capture of Adiyama, Chēra, Pāṇḍya, Magara and the powerfu Kāḍava ? Rather describe how he lifted up the Cōla and brought under his order all the land as far as Sēthu.' E. C, V, Cn. 203, Pt. I p. 22ff.
10. E. C. V. Pt. I. Cn. 203. Introduction p. 22f. Cn. 197.
11. *Ep. Ind*, Vol. VII. Pp. 163-4. E. C. V. Pt. I. p. 22ff. Cn 203.
12. E. C. VI. Cn. 56

at Kāṇṇaṉūr *alias* Vikramapura on the borders of the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries, five miles from Srirangam.[13] After these successes, the Hoysala King Narasimha assumed the title ' Chōḷarājyasthāpanāchārya ' and another meaning that he was the thunderbolt in splitting the rock that was the Pāṇḍya. [14] Narasimha stationed his valiant son Virasōmēs'vara at the new capital invested with independent authority and power and as evidence of this we have the earliest reference to Kāṇṇaṉur in an inscription dated in A.D. 1228 stating that Vīrasōmēs'vara was ruling at the place.[15] Thus we see that the enemies of Narasimha and the Cōḷa were the allies and friends of the Pāṇḍya king Māravarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya and in consonance with this we find that the Pallava styled himself as Karnāṭa-bhūpa-māna-mardian and Pāṇḍyamaṇḍala sthāpanasūtradhāra and the rut elephant to the forest *i.e.* the Cōḷa, [16] that some Singhalese generals fought by his side against the Hoysala and Cōḷa forces [17], and that the Bāṇa boasted himself of having received tribute from the Cōḷa.[18]

This was followed by a conflict between the Kāḍava and Yādava Narasimha in the 6th year of Rājarāja III *i.e.* A.D. 1222 which took place at Uṛatti.[18] In this battle Yādava Narasimha fighting on behalf of the Coḷa king succeeded in inflicting defeat on the rising Kāḍava chief who is doubtless identical with Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṉ *alias* Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ. But the Kāḍava though wounded was not so easily to be baffled. He succeeded eventually in establishing his independence as is clearly evidenced by the discovery of his 5th year record at Sēndamagnalam,

13. *Ep. Ind.* Vol., XXII. p. 44.
14. *Ibid.* and Vol. XXIV. p. 160 f; Q.J.M.S. Vol. XXX. No. 1. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 162; Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, Pt. II. p. 507.
15. Bom. Gaz. Vol. I. Pt. II. p. 507.
16. *S. I. I.* Vol. IV. No. 1432-B; and *Ep. Ind.* Vol, XXIV. p. 161.
17. *Ep. Ind.* Vol VII. p. 161.
18. Nos. 507, 543 of 1902.
19. No. 271 of 1904. In this fierce battle, Nārāyana Pillai, the brother-in-law of Viranārasimha Yāḍavarāya, lost his life and services were instituted in his honour to the God at Yōgimallavaram. Viranarasimha styles himself ' Kāñchi-Kāñchana Kāḍavakulāntaka ' and ' Kāḍvarāyadis'āpaṭṭa.

one of the strongholds of the Kāḍavarāyas.[20] This he seems to have effected in all probability with the aid of the Bāṇas.

The Kāḍava in his efforts at becoming independent, subdued the Cōḷa king at Teḷḷāṟu, deprived him of all royal insignia, and after imprisoning him along with his queen and ministers took the Cōḷa country.[21] In this attempt his invincible army led by Kōpperuñjiṅga had to fight with the forces of the Kannaḍas *i.e.* the Hoysalas who were ever-ready to fight in the cause of the Coḷa being stationed at Kaṇṇaṇūr, their southern outpost. This achievement of the Kāḍavas at Teḷḷāru might be placed in about A.D. 1228-9. It is most probable that Māṇavāḷapperumāḷ began his rule after this achievement.

After some time the Cōḷa king seems to have been released from prison under some conditions, and as will be seen in the sequel, was for a second time imprisoned in Sēndamaṅgalam. The events that followed are clearly known to us from two accounts, the Tiruvendipuram inscription of Rājarāja III and the historical romance, the Gadyakarnāmṛta, of Kāḷakalabha or Sakalavidyā-chakravarti.[22] The following facts are available from them. Rājarāja, the Cōḷa king, defeated in battle by the Pāṇḍya ruler, abandoned his capital and sought to reach the ruler of Kuntala his ally, with his retinue. On his way, he was overtaken by the Kāḍava king, who had a vanguard of forest troops and who was assisted by armies commanded by Singhalese (*mlēchchadēsa*) generals, who resembled Sambhara in strategems and was as it were an embodiment of guile in the cunning devices he adopted, and who descended on the running Cōḷa king all of a sudden, took him captive together with his retinue after a fight. The Kāḍava took his royal prisoners to his capital city Sēndamaṅgalam (Jayanta maṅgalam). The news that the Coḷa Rājarāja had been imprisoned in Sēndamaṅgalam by the Kāḍava, that he had destroyed his kingdom with his army and that the S'iva and Viṣṇu temples were

20. *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XXIV. p. 22f.
21. *Ibid*. Vol. XXII. p. 22f.
22. M. R. Kavi in Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara Journal Vol. VI. pp. 677-8.

destroyed, reached the ears of the Hoysala Narasimha, the ally and father-in-law of the Cōḷa king, and he exclaiming that his trumpet shall not be blown unless and untill he maintained his reputation of having been the establisher of the Cōḷa country, started from the capital Dorasamudra on his campaign. Going by way of the Gujalhatti pass he uprooted the Bāṇa country, seized the Bāṇa who was an obstacle on his way along with his women and treasures and in a few days reached the northern bank of the Kaveri river and encamped at Pāchchūr[23] in the neighbourhood of Srirangam. From there he sent his valiant daṇḍanāyakas, Jagadobbagaṇḍa and Samudragoppaya with an order to destroy the country of the Kāḍava, to capture Kopperuñjiṅga, to punish all his *sāmantas*, and to liberate the Cōḷa emperor[24]. Accordingly they took leave of their king and destroyed the village of Ellēri and Kolliyūrmūlai in the southern part of Chidambaram where Kopperuñjiṅga had been staying and Toḷudagaiyūr where Sōḷakaṉ one of the generals of Kopperuñjiṅga had been stationed. They killed the Kāḍava's officers, who included Vīragaṅganādāvāṉ, S'iṉattaraiyaṉ and four Singhalese generals among whom was one Parākramabāhu, seized their treasures and horses. The Hoysala generals having worshipped the God at Chidambaram (Perumpaṟṟappuliyūr) started again and destroyed rich villages including Toṇḍaimānallūr, caused the forest to be cut down and halted at Tiruppādirippuliyūr. They destroyed Tiruvadigai, Tiruvakkarai and other villages; burnt and destroyed the port towns on the sea and drinking channels to the south of Vāraṇavāsi river and east of Sēndamaṅgalam, and when they were about to encamp at that place Kōpperuñjiṅga submitted

23. In the Trichinopoly District. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 161.

24. Probably confirming the accounts of the Gadyakarnamṛta and the Tiruvendipuram inscription, a record of A.D 1233 says " The great ministers Rāyadaṇḍanātha, guardian of the army, sole champion in the world, Appaya Daṇḍanayaka and Goppaya Daṇḍanāyaka, having made petition to Narasimhadēva, destroyed the Kāḍavaraya, and released and brought the Cōḷa king there—he being pleased granted of his grace, Arakera belonging to Daṇḍinasērivara as a Koḍage." E. C. XII. Gb. 45. It must be noted that the name of Rāyadaṇḍanātha is omitted in the Tirnvendipuram Cōḷa record.

that he would release the Cōḷa king. The liberated Cōḷa was then escorted to his territory and at the village of Tiruvendipuram the Hoysala generals took leave of Rājarāja. The generals, after the accomplishment of the liberation of the Cōḷa king successfully levied tribute from the Pāṇḍya.

The account narrated above makes clear certain new facts, viz. that the Pāṇḍya King of the day had defeated the Cōḷa king, that the latter abandoning his country made an attempt to reach his ally, the lord of Kuntala, that taking advantage of the situation the Kāḍava Kopperuñjiṅga made him prisoner on his way after a fight and took him captive to Sēndamaṅgalam, and that the generals of Narasimha after successfully releasing the Cōḷa from captivity levied tribute from the Pāṇḍya. That the date of all these happenings was Circa A.D. 1231-2 is clear from the date of the Tiruvendipuram epigraph, the 16th year of the reign of Rājarāja III. Consequently the defeats inflicted by the Pāṇḍya, who is no doubt identical with Māṛavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya I, on the Cōḷa is clearly different from the happenings of A.D. 1216 and 1222 to which we have already referred. The fact that the Cōḷa had rid himself of his subordinate position to the Pāṇḍya and of paying tribute to him, in Circa A.D. 1222, assisted as he was by the power of the Hoysala king, must have left the Pāṇḍya with a reason for a fresh attempt to subdue Rājarāja III. The Kāḍava who was ever ready for every opportunity that offered itself to him to strike heavy blows on his Cōḷa overlord in order to make himself independent of him, was the Pāṇḍya's ally. And if we can rely on the account of the Gaḍyakarṇāmirta the Pāṇḍya king seems to have defeated Rājarajā in A. D. 1231-2 in a battle, and made him fly for succour to his ally and relative, the lord of Kuntala, abandoning his capital. But that the success of the Pāṇḍya was short-lived is clear from the same account, as the Hoysala generals are said to have levied tribute from the Pāṇḍya after releasing the Cōḷa king from prison and leaving him in his country.

One thing that is worth noting is that the Cōḷa king was opposed by the forces of the Pāṇḍya, Kāḍava and Bāṇa (Mahara) at the same time, being heckled from all sides, and this is clearly

indicative of the friendship that existed between them. The Cōḷa king was weak and he sought the aid of the Hoysalas and only with their assistance he was able to put down the attempts of the Bāṇa, Kāḍava and Pāṇḍya foes.

In the account of the Gaḍyakarṇāmrita the Kāḍava is said to be the king and that his capital city was Jayantamaṅgala, *i.e.* Sēndamaṅgalam. This is clearly a reference to the Kāḍava chief Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ who began his rule with Sēndamaṅgalam for his headquarters as is proved by his 5th year record from that place. Therefore it is plain that Maṇvāḷapperumāḷ was ruling at the time and that assisted by his valiant son. Kōpperuñjiṅga, overcame the Cōḷa, took him captive and imprisoned him for a second time at Sēndamaṅgalam and when the Hoysala generals after having caused great damage to the country, approached the very outskirts of the capital city of the Kāḍavas, Peruñjiṅga perceiving that no other alternative course was open, surrendered the royal prisoner to the Hoysala generals.

We shall pause to determine the rough date when Maṇavālapperumāḷ became king. The inscriptions of Kōpperuñjiṅga range from his 2nd year to the 36th year of his reign.[25] We have numerous records of his dating in almost all the years of his reign, but so far no inscription dated in his first regnal year has been discovered, and this conspicuous feature leads us to infer that he must have actually ascended the throne only in his 2nd regnal year, and that the rule of his father Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ, whom he succeeded came to a close in the end of his first year *i.e.* in A. D. 1243-4. From an inscription of the 19th year of Kōpperuñjiṅga in the Natarājā temple at Chidambaram [26], it is clear that Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ had a rule of 15 or more years. Thus the initial year of Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ must have been Circa A. D. 1228-9. This result is in confirmity with the facts noted above *viz.* that the Kāḍava took the Cōḷa country after the Teḷḷāṛu battle in Circa

25. 2nd year Nos. 505 of 1902, 69 and 411 of 1918, and 409 of 1921. 36th year-Nos. 456 and 487 of 1902, 370 of 1908 and 104 of 1934-5.

26. No. 103 of 1934-5.

A. D. 1228-9, and that he was ruling at the time when the Hoysala generals came to rescue the Cōḷa imprisoned in Sēndamaṅgalam. Thus Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ with the assistance of his valiant son became king in Circa A.D. 1228-9 with Sendamaṅgalam as capital.

Even after the incidents revealed in the Gaḍyakarnāmrita and that in Vailūr and Tiruvendipuram epigraphs, in A.D.1237, (corresponding to Durmukha) Vīrasōmēs'vara, the Hoysala king, made an effort to put down the Kāḍavas, evidently on behalf of his brother-in-law, the Cōḷa king, by heading a campaign against the Kāḍava chief. In the course of this he is stated to have encamped at Mañgalam probably identical with the place of the same name in the Vriddachalam taluk, situated about 10 miles south-west of Sēndamaṅgalam [27]. But this attempt does not seem to have resulted in any great success for the Hoysalas. And Peruñjiṅga was able to carry out the designs of Manavāḷapperumāḷ to a decisive end and in the year A. D. 1243-4,[28] he succeeded his father and reigned for a long period of 36 years.

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27. E. C. IV. Ak. 123.

28. His accession took place on a date between 4th February and 30th July A. D. 1243. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII p. 165.

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THE PRAVĀSIN (TRAVELLER) IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

BY S. V. SRINIVASA RAGHAVACHAR, M.A.

(Continued from Vol. XXXVII. No. 1. Page 42).

TO return to the Pravāsin, however much he may enjoy his journey in the beginning, he is bound to reach a stage when he wishes he had not started. The fatigue of travel, the unbearable separation from his wife and the lack of any kind of company for most of the time contribute to his misery and mental depression. Occasionally, he would meet fellow travellers in choultries or village residences and most readily he would try to get acquainted with them. Absence of company makes the new acquaintance more and more precious and the Pravāsin never hesitates to take a stranger into his confidence and tell him everything that his bereaved heart is full of, whereas under ordinary circumstances, he may think twice before saying anything important and personal, even to his best friend. The weary pravāsin in this situation takes relief in telling everything about himself to this new friend whose nature may be least known to him. Sometimes when he learns that the friend travels towards his own province, he ventures to send messages also with him so that it may infuse new hope in his wife.

Thus the Pravāsin proceeds from village to village, from city to city and from country to country. He meets various peoples and stays with them but never for long [91]. The Pravāsin travels mostly during day-time and reaches the nearest village by the evening. He spends the night either in the village residence which was mainly meant for travellers and outsiders or in the house of some hospitable inhabitant of the village. Then he gets

91 Cf. परसदननिविष्टः को लघुत्वं नयाति.

up very early in the morning and continues his journey. During the hot summer days he carries on much of his travel in the morning while the sultry afternoons are utilized for rest. This is a rough description of his routine. But according to the financial and social status of the traveller there would be great variation in his routine.

The most important and interesting part of a Pravāsin's experiences is that which concerns the village belles and the *prapāpālikās* or the keepers of the wayside drinking booths, who distribute water, butter-milk, etc. for travellers. As stated above, the traveller used to meet various types of men and women and his association with these would influence him to a considerable extent. A village belle in separation intent on attracting him with her beauty and desiring only to speak to him ; and he, responding to her request thinking that after all it is not a sin to speak to a lady ; then, coming to learn from her that she is in long separation and badly in need of company ; and further that she was badly treated by her unkind lover etc. and finally his own mental condition forcing him to respond in greater and greater measure; these and other happenings are frequently referred to by Sanskrit writers. The adventurous spirit of the traveller generally attracted the attention of the ladies in the village but in the case of such ladies as were separated from their husbands or did not like them,[92] this admiration gradually developed through sympathy, appreciation, attachment and friendship into love. But this romance was attended—with many dangers. From the uncharitable mother-in-law who would not even grant some space for him to sleep, to the other jealous suitors in the village everything proved to be a barrier to the progress of their stealthy romance. Thus it is evident that the traveller could not always count on a hospitable reception. He often met with the kind of treatment described in the following verse :

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92. He being physically deformed as stated in अद्य त्वां जननीं etc. Kavindravacanasamuccaya, 521 or fatigued as mentioned in यामिन्येषा बहलजलदैः etc., Sṛingaratilaka 13.

मातर्धर्मपरे दयां मयि कुरु श्रान्तेऽद्य वैदेशिके
द्वारालिन्दक कोणकेऽथ निभृतं यातास्मि सुप्त्वा निशि ।
इत्युक्त्वा सहसा प्रचण्डगृहिणीवाक्येन निर्भर्त्सित:
स्कन्धन्यस्त पलालमुष्टिविभव: पान्थ: पुनः प्रस्थित: ॥[93]

"Virtuous lady, have pity on me, a tired traveller from abroad; I will sleep in a corner of this outer verandah just this night and go away. The traveller said this, but frightened instantly by the speech of the terrible housewife, he set out again with his sole treasure of a handful of straw on his shoulders."

This invariable attitude on the part of the mother-in-law is sometimes cleverly counter-acted by the '*virahiṇi*' daughter-in-law who appears more cruel and unsympathetic in treating him but certainly has a soft corner for him in her heart. She rains on him a shower of sharp words, but at the same time cleverly suggests her love for him. There are numerous verses of this type and many of them are cited to illustrate the varieties of *Dhvani* which is held to be the soul of poetry by an important school of criticism. Even when there is no room for unkind treatment, the traveller who comes for rest and lodging is, as stated, by Dr. D. K. De, 'the subject of delicate addresses.' A few of these poems might prove interesting:

एकाकिनीयदबला तरुणी तथाह
मस्मद्गृहे गृहपतिश्च गतो विदेशम् ।
कं याचसे तदिह वासमियं वराकी
श्वश्रूर्ममान्धबधिरा ननु मूढ पान्थ ॥[94]

"I am all alone, a helpess young woman, and the master of the house is abroad; whom do you entreat here? This wretched mother-in-law of mine is deaf and blind. Are you not a fool, Oh! traveller?"

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93. *S. R. B.* p. 208-31; Sub 2416; *Sadukti*—2-174-1.
94. *Sub*. 2234. S.R.B. p, 354. a poem attributed to Rudra.

बाणिज्येन गतस्स मे गृहपतिर्वार्तापि नश्रूयते
प्रातस्तज्जननी प्रसूततनया जामातृगृहं गता ।
बालाहं नवयौवना निशिकथं स्थातव्यमस्मिन्गृहे
सायं सम्प्रति वर्तते पथिक हे स्थनान्तरं गम्यताम् ॥[95]

"The master of the house has gone on business and not even news about him has yet been received. His mother has gone to his son-in-law's house to attend to her daughter's confinement. A young girl as I am Oh! traveller, how am I to stay in this house in the night? Evening has already set in; therefore, please go elsewhere." The logic of this statement is quite obvious.

The very prohibition suggests not only her consent but also her wish. Somtimes even after the traveller is thus allowed to sleep inside the house, circumstances present further obstacles to their romance and the desire of the yearning '*virahiṇi*' is not fulfilled and the Pravāsin proceeds on his journey leaving her much more afflicted. This unhappy result may be due to external hindrances or lack of quick decision on the part of either of them. The pricking conscience, or the watching mother-in-law or the absence of privacy may prevent their free behaviour and force them to be separated for ever. This however, is rare, but the picture where even after the fulfilment of stolen love, the woman feels afflicted in the morning at the departure of the '*Pathika*' is quite common. A lady behaves cruelly at first and gives lodging to a pravāsin reluctantly but falling in love with him she spends the night quite happily in his company. When in the morning, he goes away, her condition is:

मर्त्सयन्त्या तृणानि स्वप्तुं दत्तानि यानि पथिकस्य : ।
तान्येव प्रभाते आर्या आकर्षति रुदती ॥[96]

"The pieces of straw given after threats of denial, to the traveller for sleeping at night, were, in the morning, gathered by the dame

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95. S.*R.B.* p. 355-82. S*ringaratilaka*. 12 *cf.* also पान्थस्वैरगतिं Kavindravacanasamuccaya. 503.

96. G. S. IV.-79.

with tears." It is observed that the lady plays the more dominant role in such situations and that the innocent '*Pathika*' who wants little more than lodging behaves in an unintelligent manner or rather, that he waits for very clear expression of her love for him. Here are a few peoms wherein the lady asks the traveller to note the beds carefully during day-time and warns him not to stumble into the wrong bed at night;

श्वश्रुरत्र निमज्जति अत्राहं दिवसकं प्रलोकय ।
मा पथिक रात्र्यन्ध शय्यायां मम निमङ्क्ष्यसि ॥ [97]

" My mother-in-law sleeps here, and here myself; mark it well while there is day light, lest, O wayfarer, thou dost stumble into my bed at night." [98]

The subtle caution and suggestion of her desire that she ventures to give deserves considerable appreciation from a critical point of view. Many such verses outstep the boundaries of propriety according to conventional standards but this much is certain that whatever state of society they may reveal to us[99] their literary excellence and appeal are indisputable. And it is in this light that these verses should be appreciated.

Sanskrit poets cannot be blamed for expatiating upon the unfaithful behaviour of the '*Proṣitabhartṛkā*', for in the same breath they extol the attitude of a real '*Pativartā*' also. The following poem of Jagannātha is noteworthy:

किमिति कृशासि कृशोदरि किं तव परकीय वृत्तान्तैः ॥
कथय तथापि मुदे मम कथयिष्यति पथिक तव जाया ॥[100]

" Why are you slender O, slender-waisted one ? "
" What do you care about others' affairs ? "

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97. *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 20, quoted in other principal works on poetics also. *cf.* also अम्बरोतेऽत्र etc., *Kavindravacanasamuccaya*. 505. Sub. 2247.

98. Dr. S. K. De's translation.

99. In fact whether they reveal any state of society or not is itself controversial. This has been discussed above.

100. *cf.* Bhāminivilāsa, S'ṛnagārollāsa.

" But yet, tell me, just for my satisfaction,"
"Your wife will tell you, O traveller ".

A real '*Pativratā*' does not tolerate a stranger's inquisitiveness especially if he speaks in the manner described above.[101] Hence her powerful retort which silences him once for all and corrects his improper conduct.

The '*Prapāpālikā*' plays as great and interesting a part in the Pravāsin's life as the poor but optimistic *virahiṇi* of another traveller. '*Prapā*' is a wayside inn generously instituted to supply cool drinks to thirsty travellers. These seem to have been common in ancient times during almost all seasons. In modern times it is customary to organise such drink houses (if we may call them so) during summer, festive occasions and *jātras*.

The '*Prapāpālikā*' is pictured as most captivating. Her two breasts are compared to unsurmountable mountains on the road which prevent the traveller from returning to his house. Hence she is requested to conceal them and be kind to the Pravāsin's poor wife at home who, it is said, lives only till the end of the day fixed for his return. This beautiful verse may be noted :

अवधिदिनावधिजीवाः प्रसीद जीवन्तु पथिकजनजायाः ||
दुर्लङ्घ्यवर्त्मशैलौ स्तनौ पिधेहि प्रपापालि ||[102]

" Pray, do allow them to live, those wives of the travellers, who live only till the day fixed (as the latest) for their return. Oh, *Prapāpālikā*, please conceal your breasts, those unsurmountable mountains on the way." Even the very sight of her is said to be enough to make the traveller forget his wife. A special value is attached to the water that she pours into his hands. But quite often, the traveller relishes the sight and company of the '*Prapāpālikā*' more than the drink itself, of which he is supposed to be in need.

101. Notice the suggestion in तथापि मुदे मम and the way of his addressing her which prove his bad intentions.

102. Sâhityamimamsa. p. 5. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

दूरादेव कृतोञ्जलिर्नतु पुनः पानीयपानार्थिना
रोमाञ्चोपि निरन्तरं प्रकटितः प्रीत्या न शैत्यादपाम् ।
रूपालोकनविस्मितेन चलितो मूर्ध्ना न शान्त्या तृषा-
मक्षुण्णो विधिरध्वगेन घटितो वीक्ष्यप्रपापीलाकाम् ॥ [163]

" Hands were folded even from a distance, but not for asking a drink. The body was openly thrilled, out of love; not on account of the cold; wondering at her beauty (he) nodded his head but not as an indication of the quenching of his thirst. Thus at the sight of the *Prapāpālikā* an original kind of procedure was adopted by the wayfarer ".

Being separated from his wife and immensely fatigued, the traveller thus finds almost a paradise in the '*Prapā*' and adores the charming and seductive beauty of the *prapāpālikā*. Not unfrequently, the *prapāpālikā* also falls in love with the handsome young man. Such situations are most beautifully depicted in in many Prākṛt verses. One of the most popular poems runs thus:

ऊर्ध्वाक्षः पिबति जलं यथा यथा विरलाङ्गुलिश्चिरं पाथिकः ॥
प्रपापालिकापि तथा तथा धारां तनुकामपि तनूकरोति ॥[104]

" As the traveller who (knelt and) was looking up at the face of the maiden received the water in his folded hands and allowed it to trickle down the interstices of his fingers, the maiden too on her part made the stream from the pot thinner though it was already thin enough ".[105]

This is why an experienced friend gives to the traveller a piece of valuable advice as described in the following verse:

गन्तुं सत्वरमीहसे यदि गृहं व्यालोलवेणीलतां
द्रष्टुं वा स्वकुटुम्बिनीमनुदिनं कान्तां समुत्कण्ठसे ॥
तत्तृष्यान्नपि मुग्धमन्थरवलन्नेतान्तरुद्धाध्वगा-
मेतां दूरत एव हे परिहर भ्रातः प्रपापालिकाम् ॥[106]

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103. S. R. B. p. 339–119. Attributed to Bhattabana; *Sub.* 1709.
104. G. S. 11—61—*cf.* also अङ्गुल्यग्रनिरोधतः etc., *Sub.* 1771.
195. Prof. C. R. Narasimhasastry's translation.
106. *Sub.* 1721. S. R. B. p. 329–120.

"If you, O, brother traveller, desire to return to your house soon or yearn everyday to see your dear wife, then, thirsty though you may be, avoid even at a distance, this *prapāpālikā* who by her very artless, wide and tremulous eyes obstructs the travellers."

The *virahiṇis* of the village and the *Prapāpālikās* seem to lend a new colour to the life of the pravāsin. They act like oases in a desert and seem to reward the traveller for all his strenuous and adventurous deeds. On the whole a certain romantic, adventurous and care-free atmosphere pervades the experiences of the traveller, for which the *prapāpālikās* and the village belles are very much responsible.

After such varied and interesting experiences the traveller, who we may assume, has finished his errand or pilgrimage as the case may be, thinks of returning. In spite of the numerous distractions on the way, he does not usually forget his own happy home. When he wants to return nothing proves unfavourable, whereas the heat of summer, the extreme cold of winter, the miry ground of autumn and such other natural features acted as great impediments to him when he started. They now cease to be obstacles, when he returns home. The pleasure of returning to his beloved after this hazardous journey eclipses all troubles. The fatigue of the traveller returning in the hot summer afternoon is said to be relieved by the moon-light, as it were, of his beloved's face borne on his mind.[107] In the same manner, the rainy season and its arrogant manifestations do not in the least perturb the returning traveller. He is said to think as follows:

गर्ज वा वर्ष वा मेघ मुञ्च वाऽशनि तोमरम् ॥
गणयन्ति न शीतोष्णं वल्लभाभिमुखा नराः ॥[108]

"O, cloud, roar, rain or give forth thunderbolts as you please Men going towards their beloveds never care for heat or cold."

This is only true of the traveller who is sure of meeting his beloved, alive, cheerful, happy and expectant of his return. But

107. चित्तारापत कामिनी मुखशशिज्योत्स्नाहत क्लान्तयः is the text.

108. *Sub.* 1724.

where the traveller has reason to apprehend a catastrophe at home, the picture is quite different. He is constantly disturbed by some bad news wherever he goes. In every village he hears something relating to the death of a lady owing to her husband's travel or his non-return before the rainy season. It is easy to imagine the effect of such news on the poor traveller. Naturally, even when he approaches the village he does not quicken his steps. He hesitates to enter the village hopefully. He looks at the cloud above his house apprehending it to be the smoke rising from the funeral pyre to which his wife is preparing to throw herself. This is expressed in the following poem:

आलोक्यति पयोधरमुपमन्दिरमभिनवाम्बुभरनीलम् ॥
दयिता रचित चितानल धूमोद्गम शङ्कया पथिकः ॥[109]

Further when he meets an inhabitant of the village he questions him as follows in order to make sure that his wife is alive:

भद्रात्र ग्रामके त्वं वससि परिचयस्तोऽस्ति जानासि वार्ता-
मस्मिन्नध्वन्यजाया जलधररसितोत्का न काचिद्विपन्ना ॥
इत्थं पान्थः प्रवासावधिदिनविगमापायराङ्की प्रियायाः
पृच्छन्वृत्तान्तमारात्स्थितनिजभवनोप्याकुलो न प्रयाति ॥[110]

"Dear friend, do you live in this village? Are you well acquainted with it? Do you know the news? Did no woman, a traveller's wife, die here, being over-powered by the roar of clouds? Thus inquiring the news of his wife, the agitated traveller apprehending the calamity due to the expiry of the date of return, does not proceed towards his house even though it is near enough."

The condition of the pravāsin who does not expect this tragedy is described in this verse:

गायति विहसति नृत्यति हृदयेन धृतां प्रियां विचिन्तयति ।
समविषमं न च विन्दति गृहगमन समुत्सुकः पथिकः ॥[111]

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109. *Sub.* 1743.
110. *Sub.* 1788. S. R. B. p. 343-96.
111. *Sub.* 2408; S. R. B. p. 208-30.

"(He) sings, laughs, dances and thinks about his wife borne by him in his heart. The traveller who is anxious to return to his house does not notice even the ruggedness of his path."

The state of his mind when he returns as well as that of his beloved when she awaits him anxiously are depicted most beautifully in Amaru's verses. Even when the pravāsin is far away from his house this is what he is inclined to do :

देशैरन्तरिता शतैश्च सरिता मुर्वीभृतां काननै
र्यत्नेनापि न याति लोचनपथं कान्तेति जानन्नपि ।
उद्ग्रीवश्चरणाग्ररुद्धवसुधः प्रोन्मृज्य सास्ते दृशौ
तामाशां पथिकस्तथापि किमपि ध्यायन्पुनर्वीक्षते ॥[112]

"The traveller knows full well that between him and his beloved there lie stretched many a country, hundreds of rivers, hills and forests and that by no effort of his, can he, ever gain a glimpse of her, yet he cranes his neck, stands on tip-toe and drying his tear-laden eyes looks again with wistful longing, in the direction in which he has left his beloved (behind)."[113]

The expectant wife is described thus :

आदृष्टिप्रसरात्प्रियस्य पदवीमुद्वीक्ष्य निर्विण्णया
विच्छिन्नेषु पथिष्वहः परिणतौ ध्वान्ते समुत्सर्पति ।
दत्त्वैकं सशुचा गृहं प्रति पदं पान्थस्त्रियास्मिन्क्षणे
मा भूदागत इत्यमन्द वलितग्रीवं पुनर्वीक्षितम् ॥[114]

"As long as the eye could see she scanned the path by which he was to come. As darkness crept in and the path began to grow shorter her heart sank within her. She took but a single step towards her door and immediately said to herself 'perhaps in this moment when my back is turned, could he not have come?' She

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112. Amarusataka. 99.
113. Prof. C. R. Narasimhasastry's translation;
114. Amarustaka. 76. *cf.* also the section on वर्त्मावलोकिनी in Saduktikarnamrita. p. 107.

therefore looked once more with a deep sigh and backward curve of her neck." [115].

The scene of the pravāsin's reunion with his wife after a long separation has an additional excellence about it. Love is nourished by separation if the separation has not already led either of them astray. And the realisation of love after separation is praised in glorious terms by the great writers in Sanskrit literature. Separation, therefore, is regarded as the touch-stone of the perfection of love. [116]

The first meeting of the lovers after separation generally results in tears. There is, as it where, a recollection of the circumstances under which they parted and all that happened afterwards. The 'separated wife' so much habituated to sorrow and disappointment, cannot, at first, believe that her hushand has returned safe from a journey full of perils. Her first response to his return has been pictured by Jagannatha as follows :

विरहेण विकलहृदया विलपन्ती दयित दयितेति ॥
आगतमपि सा सविधे परिचयहीनेव वीक्षते बाला ॥[117]

" Her heart being broken by separation, the girl who was bewailing him, beholds him as though she were unacquainted with him, though he was near her." The verse as explained by the commentator [118] has another suggestive idea. The expression परिचयहीनेव is explained as एतेनौदासीन्यातिशयोद्योत्यते. It seems that the wife is trying to punish her lover for his long absence by pretending non-acquaintance. All the same, she cannot be cruel to him ; nor can she afford to be separated any longer. There is, thus, a mixture of grief with her sense of vengeance and anger. In a moment all this terminates in joy and their mutual exchange, of experiences during the period of separation, takes place. The beloved now hastens to

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115. Prof. C. R. Narasimhasastry's translation. It is better to have ' quick instead of ' deep sigh ' in the translation.

116. Cf. नविना विप्रलम्भन सम्भोगः पुष्टिमेश्नु तो etc.

117. Bhāminivilāsa, Sringārollāsa, 67

118. *Ibid* P. 113.

accord hospitable treatment to the fatigued husband while the servants and neighbours interest themselves in conversation with the new comer. The pravāsin gives an account of his travel and grand and vivid descriptions of the places that he visited.

Though the formal reception is over, the real meeting of the husband and wife is yet to come and is eagerly awaited by both of them. The day is spent with effort in the company of visitors, but at night also these people continue to engage the returned 'pravāsin' in conversation. This delicate situation and the remedy devised by the impatient and witty wife are described by Amaru in this verse:

आयाते दयिते मनोरथशतैर्नीत्वा कथञ्चिद्दिनं
वैदग्ध्यापगमाज्जडे परिजने दीर्घां कथां कुर्वति ।
दष्टास्मीत्यभिधाय सत्वरपदं व्याधूय चीनांशुकं
तन्वङ्गया रतिकातरेणमनसा नीतः प्रदीपश्शमम् ॥[119]

"The beloved hath come back and with him have returned a hundred desires. The pale lady passed the day-time in impatience, but in the evening the witless people of the house engaged him in endless conversation. 'Something has bitten me', so saying she waved her silken garment as if in a flurry and put out the light thereby, with a heart impatient with desire." [120]. The fulfilment of love is generally attended by such and other impediments. Another of the same kind is described by the wife to her companion in the following verse:

समायाते कान्ते कथमपि च कालेन बहुना
कथाभिर्देशानां सखि रजनिरर्धं गतवती ।
ततो यावल्लीलाकलहकुपितास्मि प्रियतमे
सपत्नीबा प्राचीदिगियमभवत्तावदरुणा ॥[121]

"Dear friend, when somehow after a long time he returned, the night was reduced to half by the stories relating to various places,

119. Amarusataka 77. Attributed to Adbhutaphullaka in Sub.

120. Dr. S. K. De's translation.

121. Sringaratilaka, 9.

and by the time I became angry with him in course of my sportive quarrel, this 'East' [122], like a rival wife, became already red [123] (as if in jealous anger)." The final purport, however, is that the whole night slipped away without being noticed. This brings to our mind the beautiful statement of Bhavabhūti.

अविदितगतयामा रात्रिरेव व्यरंसीद् ॥ [124]

The happy couple, it goes without saying, reap the fruits of love and hereafter all the previous misery adds strength and permanance to their everlasting love, in the form of pleasant recollections.

In conclusion, it must be stated that though travel in ancient times was beset with various troubles and risks, the life of a traveller had a semi-romantic and semi-adventurous atmosphere about it. Travel was cherished as an ideal in life and the hardships that it entailed were courted in a sportive manner. And further these hardships though exaggerated to a certain extent in literature, were not, in reality, so serious. So also the social relations of the pravāsin with the village or city maidens and the *Prapāpālikās* also is as depicted by Sanskrit poets, more of imagination. In all these cases, the literary excellence of the poem, rather than their historical truth, should be appreciated by the learned *Sahṛdayas*.

Viewed in this light, the poems explained above reveal to us that the pravāsin is a delightful specimen of human nature. With a sympathetic allowance for his follies, if any, on the way, he becomes an interesting object of study. Around him centres much of poetie genius, imagination and wit in the domain of Sanskrit literature.

It may also be noted that not only the Indian pravāsin, but travellers in general, had their own part to play in contributing to the knowledge of the world and human nature. A careful study

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122. Note that the word प्राचि being in feminine gender is characterised as a lady.
123. That is, it was already morning.
124. Uttararamacarita, 1—27.

of ancient history reveals to us that he and he alone played the greatest part in bringing about peaceful cultural contacts and in enriching the knowledge of his own people by importing fresh ideas from outside. Invaders caused much harm to the invaded though in the end the invasion might have brought about cultural amalgamation. But the travellers never disturb the peace and integrity of the culture or nation with which they associate; they are like peaceful embassies sent by providence to various countries in order to promote mutual knowledge and prosperity. The travellers' impressions of a country often serve as valuable pieces of evidence to reconstruct the history of a land. In short, it is easy to imagine how much more a Fahien, Huien-t-sang or Alberuni can help to bring about cultural contacts and international peace, than an Alexander, a Chengizkhan or a Mahmud of Ghazni.

Coming to the narrower spheres of thought we can see from available evidence that the traveller in ancient times helped a good deal to spread the knowledge of medicine[125], geography, philosophy and such other subjects. Indian works on the science of erotics generally include a chapter on the characteristics of women belonging to various nationalities. Though much of scientific accuracy cannot be attributed to it in these times, it is true that the analysis of racial characteristics and the definition of the various types of women were arrived at after careful investigation and verification. In ancient times they were held, for the most part, to be true. In other sciences also such as astrology, medicine and palmistry, we have such ready made generalisations, the rationale of which have not been handed down. We are not however, concerned here with the accuracy of the facts. It is enough if we note that in such investigations, the traveller[126] had an important part

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125. The Arab travellers are renowned to be the pioneers of the oriental science of medicine.

126. One named Padmasri who is the auothor of नागरसर्वस्व is said to have been a Buddhist wanderer (parivrajaka)

127. प्रवात्स्यद्भर्तृका, प्रवासद्भर्तृका, and प्रोषितभर्तृका are three kinds of प्रोषितभर्तृका heroines, as stated in Sringarmanjari of Bada Akbar.

to play by way of collecting the prevalent ideas and opinions from various quarters and communicating them to others.

The extreme popularity of this interesting specimen of human nature, *viz.* the pravāsin, has given rise to a convention in Sanskrit poetics. Cannons of criticism have been formulated that '*Pravāsa*' should be depicted and described in literature. The '*proṣitabhartṛkā*' (one whose husband will be, is about to be or is[127] separated) has become one of the eight types[128] of samānya[129] heroines. In literature, the ideas of *pravāsa* and *sandeśa* (the message of hope) have been immortalised by the master poet Kāḷidasa in his Meghasandeśa, which has been imitated by numerous other writers. Thus in literature as well as in critisism, the pravāsin is held in high esteem and admiration. The benefits and glory achieved by him are described as follows :

देशे देशे किमपि कुतुकादद्भुतं लोकमानाः
सम्पाद्यैव द्रविणमतुलं सद्य भूयोप्यवाप्य ।
संयुज्यन्ते सुचिरविरहोत्काण्ठिताभिः सतिभिः
सौख्यं धन्याः किमपि दधते सर्वसम्पत्समृद्धाः ॥ S.R.B. p. 98-4.

" Beholding with eagerness something wonderful in every country earning much wealth and returning home again; Indeed, the favoured ones who are blessed with all fortunes, are again united with their wives eager and yearning (for union) on account of long separation, and made to experience inexpressible happiness."

(Concluded)

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128. The author of the Sringaramanjari mentions nine types. Thus there is some controversy on the exact no. of types of heroines.

129. स्वकीया, परकीया and सामान्य are the three main types of heroines.

RGVEDIC THEORY OF INSPIRATION

By P. S. SHASTRI, M.A., M.LITT.

(*Continued from Vol. XXXVII. No. 2 page 91.*)

THE Vedic poets were conscious of receiving inspiration from superhuman beings. Brāhmaṇaspati is the generator of all prayers, like the adorable sun who generates the rays by his radiance.[38] Being the regulator he understands the purport of the hymn.[39] Rudra encourages the seer in composing hymns,[40] as such he is the Gāthapati. Agni appreciates the pious prayer of the poets.[42] Sōma is the leader of the minds.[42] Agni is exalted by the hymns, so that he may be born more worthy of praise. Indra is the lord of the true praises,[43] and is beautiful and lovely like a father of the minds. He even provides the objects that instigate and inspire the poet. He animates the dawns for the sake of the worshipper.[45] He encourages his adorers and he is to be propitiated by prayer alone.[46] The poet has to sing beautifully invoking this praiseworthy lord.[47] He instigates the song.[48] Indra Vaikuṇṭha, in a sort of monologue way, similar to that of a Jīvanmukta, says that he is the instigator of the sacrificer.[49] Indra is to be praised with holy hymns and approached with veneration. The minds adhere to him like the affectionate wives of a loving husband.[50] "*Indram vāṇīr anūṣata*" (1.7.1). The As'vins must

38. R. V. 2-23-2 Vis'veṣāmij janitā brahmaṇāmasi.
39. 2-23-19 Tvamasya yantā sūktasyabodhi.
40. 1-43-4 Gāthapatim medhapatim Rudram.
41. 2-9-4 Tvam s'ukrarasya vacaso manotàḥ.
42. 3-10-6 Agnim vardhantu no giro
    Yato Jāyata ukthyaḥ.
43. 3-31-18 Patir bhava vṛtrahan sunṛtānām girām.
44. 3-49-3 Matinam piteva cāruh.
45. 3-34-5 Acetayad dhiya imā jaritre.
46. 6-45-19 Kiricodanam brahmavāhastamam huve
47. 8-96-10 Suvṛktim preraya.
48. 8-88-6 Ucathasya coditā.
49. X-43-1 Aham bhuvam yajamānasya Coditā.
50. 1-62-11 Patimanà patnir Us'atirusantam spṛsantitva savasāvan maniṣāḥ.

stimulate their words of truth, perfect their sacred rites, and inspire their numerous faculties.[51] They sink or sail, mystify or clarify their position with inspiration.

It is the god-given prayer, Devadatta.[52] Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryaman have established the holy text.[53] Indra and Varuṇa granted wise words and hymns.[54] It is the divine prayer, divine speech.[55] They praise with divine minds.[56] *Vāk* is the queen, the delight of the Gods. The Gods first generated the words of the hymn.[57] The super-physical being himself creates the hymns and the poet is the medium through whom it is revealed to us. They were entirely under divine control, which instigates them to compose, which inspires them with great force. Everything proceeds from the absolute reality:

"*Tasmâd Yajnāt Sarvahutaḥ*
ṛcaḥ sāmanijajnire
Chandānsi jajnire tasmād
Yajus tasmād ajāyata" (X. 90. 9)

The poetic utterance too is divine. It is prophetic, transcendental and intuitive. The Vedic poets often say,

"*Vacasā daivyena*" (4. 1. 15)
"*Gṛṇanto devyā dhiyā*" (8. 27. 13)
"*Divyā vāṇī*" (8. 100. 10; 101, 16) etc.

This divineness is carried to its logical extreme where the poet and his composition are equally regarded as divine.

"*Indro Brahm endra ṛṣiḥ*" (1. 16. 7)

Indra is both the hymn and the seer. The poet and his composition are identical.

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51. X-39-2 Codayatam sūnṛtāḥ pinvatam dhiya, ut
Purandhir irayatam tad Us'masi.
52. 1-37-4 Devadattam brahma gâyata.
53. 7-66-11 Vi ye dadhuḥ.........Yajnam ktum cād ṛcam.
54. 8-59-6
55 4-1-15 Vacasâ Daivyena.
56. 8-27-13 Gṛṇanto devyā dhiyā
57. X-88-8 Sūktavakam prathamam
ādid.........ajanayanta devāḥ

In inspiration the matter is some thing new, hitherto unknown to the individual. It is original. A fresh spring comes out from an unknown quarter. The Vedic seer, Suhotra, observes that he has fabricated with his own mouth, the unprecedented, comprehensive and gratifying praises.........

"*Apūrvyā purutamāni......s'antamāni Vacānsi*" (6. 32. 1) The poet creates the hymn, as if it were entirely unknown till that time anywhere in the Universe.........

"*Upastutim asṛkṣi......anyāmiva*" (8. 27.11).

And it is a truth. A fresh lightning illumines the hitherto dim regions. The activity of the mind at that time is so deep and different from that of the habitual course, that " we are tempted to say that it alone is true and good."

It colours the manner of appearance also. In an inspired mood, the utterance has a peculiar thought, melody and phrase, which we cannot explain fully. It is not made, but born. It flames, dawns, steals upon the mind of the poet. It cannot be the product of exertion, for spontaneity and naturalness, besides originality are its prime features. The hymn is raised to Indra...... "*Indrāya brahma udyatam*" (8. 58. 9). They raise a composition to Sōma, the institutor.........

"*pra......Vaca udyatam matibhiḥ*" (9. 10. 3, 1)

A hymn has risen amongst them.........

"*Asmākam brahmodyatam*" (X. 22. 7).

The sacrifice, the hymn, the sacred text, the voice is raised to the deity..." *Yajne Mantro brahmodayatam vacaḥ*" (X. 50. 6). These passages clearly reveal the idea of the sprouting of a hymn in their midst. The vision comes and that is the seed. Immediately the sprout is there. There is altogether no effort. Freely and easily does he express his valuable experience. The Kaṇvas glorify Indra; like waters rushing down a declivity the hymn spontaneously seeks Indra,[58] in whose hands he rests in the inspired moments. Here

58. 8-6-34 Abhikaṇvā anūshatāpo napravatā yatiḥ |
Indram Vananvati matiḥ.

is a suggestion about the pattern in verse making, and about the free and natural flow of poesy as well. Medhyātithi's 'sweetest songs, the hymns of praise, ascended to Indra, like triumphant chariots laden with wealth and charged with unfailing protections ;[59] while Bharadvāja's new, pure, graceful praise issues from him to Agni Vais'vānara, like the Sōma juice from the filter.[60] There is a beauty and a simplicity that inspires one in such a flow of poesy.

The hymn is earnest[61] and great[62], grateful[63], propitiating[64], great and respectable[65], gratifying and pious, emulous in earnestness[66], devout, faultless and appropriate[67], sanctifying,[68] earnest and gratifying[69], pleasant[70], effused with loud praise.[71] ample[72], suited to the season, and Ṛtviyāvatī[73]. The many sacred hymns, who are the mothers of the sacrifice, give praise; they prurify Sōma, the infant of heaven[74]. By means of the speech produced for the sacrifice, the sun has shone bright.[75]

Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy thinks that "Vedic pœtry is neither

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59. 8-3-15 Ud utye madhumattamagiraḥ
Stomāsa irate satrājitodhanasā
Akṣitotayo Vājayanto rathāiva

60. 68-1 Vais'vanarāya matirnavasi
Sōma iva pavate cāruragnaye

61. 3-33-5 Râmadhvam me vacase somyàya.
.........Achā bṛhati manisa

62. 3-51-1 Giro bṛhatir. *Cf.* 5-19-3.
bṛhaduktha ; 6-49-4 bṛhati manīṣā.

63. 5-52-13 Namasya rāmayàgirā.

64. 8-11-7 agne tvam Kàmayāgirā.

65. 3-24-4 devebhir mahayā giraḥ.

66. 7-18-3 Mandrā giro devayantīr upasthuḥ.

67. 3-31-13 Giro yasminn anavadyaḥ samīciḥ.

68. 4-56-1 S'ucayadbhir arkaiḥ.

69. 5-43-8 Acha mahibṛhatī s'antamāgiḥ.

70. 6-15-7 Samidhâ girà gṛṇe.

71. 9-10-4 Barhaṇâ girā.

72. 2-2-1 Tanā girā.

73. 8-12-10 Ṛtviyāvati dhitiḥ. *Cf.* 8-80-7.
Iyam dhīr ṛtviyāvati.

74. 9-33-5 Ṛtasya mātaraḥ.

75. X-138-2 S'us'ocasūrya ṛtajātayā girā.

'fine' nor 'decorative', but simply highly accomplished in execution..........what is truly moving in Vedic 'poetry' is not a lyrical quality", but one of profundity : the lauds are means to happiness far rather than to pleasure, and it would be an affectation to speak of them as "literature".[76] These lines and their author evidently ignore the views of the Vedic poets themselves upon their own works of art. Ideas of form and matter, harmony and beauty, music and melody, that are so often stressed in the *saṁhitā*, of which a selection has been made above, clearly prove the contrary. Nobody denies the profundity of the Vedic hymns ; but equally so is the lyrical quality. A great mystic is always intensely personal, impatient and musical. That the whole of the Ṛgveda was set to music in Sāmaveda tells us plainly the lyrical nature of the text. It is well to remember that a lyric alone is intensely musical and profound. Lyric and profundity are not separable terms. They have an indissoluble union, and the Vedic poets, who are mostly mystical, paid much attention to the artistic side and confessed it. There is much of fine and decorative poetry in the hymns dealing with Usas, in the Sāmavādas and ballads.

The poet has fabricated acceptable and pious works like rich garments, and like a chariot :[77] as such they are a respectable present. They are powerful and new[78], abound in the best possible and choice idioms. In short they are "*su-ukta*," well uttered, and possess miraculous powers being the emanations from the divine,[79] for divine speech enters the seers—

"*Yajnena vācaḥ padavīyam āyan*
Tām anv avindann ṛṣiṣu praviṣṭām
tām ā bhṛtyā Vy adadhuḥ purutrā
tām sapta rebhā abhisam navante." (X. 71. 3)

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76. A. K. Coomaraswami ; New approach to the Veda P. 88.

77. 5-29-15 Indra brahma Kriyamaṇajuṣasva
Yāte s'aviṣṭha navyâkarma
Vastreva bhadrâ sukṛtâ vasūyu
Ratham na dhiraḥ svapa atakṣam

78. 1-143-1 Pratavyasim navyasim dhitim.
Agneye Vāco matim sahasas sūnave bhare.

79. 3-53-12 Vis'vāmitrasya rakṣati brāhmedam bhāratam
Janam. *Cf.* 7-33-5 Vasiṣṭhasya stuvata
Indro as'rod urum tṛtsubhyoo akṛnoo U lokam.

Through sacrifice they have approached the path of speech and found it centered in the seers; having got possession of it they diffused learning; the seven resounding metres join together. It is thus the hymns appear to be emanations from the divine, from the super-sensual regions.

When they acquire such a skill they have every right to be proud of their compositions. Kutsa's praise of Rudra is the sweetest.[80] Sutambhara Ātreya addresses the sweetest speech to Agni.[81] Bhauma speaks, "may Aditi receive my affectionate, pleasant prayer, as a mother does the endearments of a son; I address to Mitra and Varuṇa the pleasing, delightful prayer, that is approved by all the gods."[82] The hymn is unprecedented, comprehensive and gratifying.[83] They award the fit praise only in their compositions. The adorations and praises of the poets have a variegated atmosphere. They spread everywhere like the branches of a tree.[84] Vasiṣṭha's praise of Indra and Viṣṇu is ample and magnifying, mighty and wide-striding.[85] The hymns are radiant like the flames of fire.[86] With delightful hearts they invoke Agni. The poet does not utter his compositions simply to be disregarded.[87]

Viśvāmitra lays hold of the skirts of Indra's robe with sweet flavoured hymns, as a son clings to the garment of his father.[88] Sōma is graced by the praises.[89] Kavasha, on the death of Mitrātithi,

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80. 1-114-6 Sāvdoḥ svādiyaḥ
81. 5-11-5 Tubhyedam agne madhu mattamam vacaḥ.
82. 5-42-2 Stomam.........hṛdyam susevam brahma priyam devahitam yad asti aham mitre varune yan mayobhu
83. 6-32-1 Apūrvyāpurutamāni.........s'antamāni Vacānsi
84. 7-43-1 Yeṣām brahmāṇyasamāni Viprā Viṣag Viyanti Vanino na s'ākhāḥ
85. 7-99-6 Iyam maniṣa bṛhati bṛhantoru Kramā tavasā Vardhayanti rare Vām stoma Vidatheṣu
86. 8-6-7 Agneh s'ocir na didyutaḥ
87. 6-52-14 Vacānsi paricaksyāṇi vocam
88. 3-53-2 Svādiṣṭhayāgirā
89. Matibhih pariṣkṛtah—9-105-2

the father of Upamaśravas, observes that Mitrātithi's words were sweet like a pleasant field given to a beggar.[90] They praise Bṛhaspati in the conflicts where heroes win with auspicious praises.[91] The hymns purify everything.[92] When the hymn is concentrated in the deity the adoration is enhanced.[93] Viśvamanas, like his father, glorifies the radiant Agni, with excellent and pious hymns.[94]

All these views on their own compositions tell us plainly that they are unanimously sweet, pleasant, hearty, well chiselled, spontaneous, excellent and pious. The ṛṣis have superhuman character. It is said that the glory of the Vasiṣṭhas is like the splendour of the sun, their greatness as profound as the depth of the ocean; their praise has the velocity or the racy swiftness of the wind and by no other can it be surpassed.[95] As soon as he was born all the gods have sustained him with celestial vitality.[96] This sage is reported to be cognisant of both worlds.[97] As he was possessed with understanding or fine intellect, the wise and intelligent Varuṇa himself gave instructions to him, his worthy disciple; and declared the mysteries of the hidden.[98]

Likewise the Kus'ikas are the first-born of Brahma. Vis'vāmitra is said to be the generator of the gods, and attracts the

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90. X-33-6 Prasvâdaso giraḥ *Cf.*
Payasvān māmakam vacaḥ
91. X-67-9 Matibhiḥ S'ivābhiḥ
92. *Cf.* X-135-7 Ayamgirbhiḥ pariṣkṛtaḥ
93. 6-38-3 Paramayà dhiyā
94. 8-23-23 Maṃhiṣṭhâbhir matibhiḥ
95. 7-33-8 Sūryasyeva Vakṣatho jyotireṣàm
Samudrasyeva mahimā gabhiraḥ
Vātasyeva prajavo nānyena
stomo vasiṣṭha anvetave vaḥ
96. 7-33-11 Drapsam skannam brahmaṇàdaivyena
Vis'vedevāh puṣkare tvādadanta
97. 7-33-12 Sapraketa Ubhayasya pravidvan
98. 7-87-4 Uvāca me varuṇe medhirāya
triḥ sapta nāmāghnyâ bibharti
vidvān padasya guhyānavocad
Yugāya Vipra Uparāya S'ikṣan.

deities, being a great seer. With a justifiable pride Vis'vāmitra says:

> " *Vis'vāmitrasya rakṣati brahmedam*
> *bhāratam janam.*"

Hence it becomes an ample, well-uttered and graceful prayer [99] and as the poet says it is *supes'a*, well decorated. His praises are all-acquiring, concentrated and eager; they embrace Maghavan as wives do a husband; as women embrace a man free from defect for the sake of protection. [100]

When the poet is conscious of himself as receiving inspiration, then it becomes religious. With the advancement of the spiritual activity, the poet does not try to ascribe his work to himself. They are like flowers in the hands of wanton gods; they dally with them in sport. The gods are the absolute and original creators of hymns, for the inspiration which manifests itself through the poet is transcendental. Parallel cases of poets being conscious of receiving inspiration from celestial beings are innumerable in the histories of literature. Milton calls upon the deity before he proceeds with his epic to sing for him. William Blake had mystic experiences and he thought that some superhuman being was dictating him the songs. In the introduction to his 'Songs of Experience' we read,

> " Hear the voice of the Bard!
> Who present, past, and future, sees;
> Whose ears have heard
> The Holy Word
> That walked among the ancient trees."

In the prelude to his Book of Urizen we have,

> " Eternals! I hear you call gladly.
> Dictate swift winged words, and fear me not
> To unfold your dark visions of torment."

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99. 7-32-13 Mantram Akharvam sudhitam
Supes'asam dadhātayajniyeṣvâ

100. X-43-1 Achāma indram matayah svarvidah
Sadhricir Vis'va Us'atir anūṣata
Pariṣvajante janayo yathā patim
Maryam na s'undhyum Maghavānam Ūtaye.

This plain, naked truth has been poetically told many a time, by the Vedic poets as the foregoing pages show. They never confessed or said anything prosaically. Matter-of-factness was their foe. The great poet 'knows and rests in the eternal world of Pure Being, the "Sea Pacific" of the God-head, indubitably present to him in his ecstasies, attained by him in the union of love." [101] Here consciousness is dominated by one fixed idea or intuition that brings about a marvellous metamorphosis over the entire life as lived hitherto. The whole thing is not brought about by a conscious effort on the part of the individual. It is the result of inspiration. Raphael once wrote to Leonardo da Vinci, "I have noticed that when one paints one should think of nothing; everything then comes better." The same idea is clearly and in a better way expressed by St. Teresa, when she writes: "Let the will quietly and wisely understand, that it is not by dint of labour on our part that we can converse to any good purpose with God." [102] She was even powerless to set down anything but that which her master put into her mind. William Blake testifies to the same effect in one of his letters: "I have written the poems from immediate dictation, twelve or sometimes twenty or thirty lines at a time, without premeditation and even against my will. The time it has taken in writing was thus rendered non-existent, and an immense poem exists which seems to be the labour of a long life, all produced without labour or study." [103] All the great artists, poets and mystics share the illuminated life to a certain extent. They have their sip in the ambrosial cup of intellectual vision and know the divinity and the divineness of those moments. This state floods him with a new vitality, with a new light—

> "The world is charged with the grandeur of God
> It will flame out, like shining from shark and oil."

And it is here that Browning's Saul gives vent to the lovely lines.[104]

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101. Underhill P. 36
102. Vida Cap 15·9
103. Letter, April 25, 1803
104. Saul XVII

> "I but open my eyes,—and perfection, no more
> and less,
> In the kind I imagined full fronts me, and God is
> seen, God
> In the star, in the stone, in the flash, in the sail
> and the clod."

William Blake describes the inspired state in almost identical terms but with more mystical words—

> "To see a World in a grain of sand,
> And a Heaven in a wild flower,
> Hold Infinity in the palm of your hand,
> And Eternity in an hour." [105]

And Tennyson tells in his St. Agnes Eve,

> " He lifts me to the golden doors;
> The flashes come and go;
> All heaven bursts her starry flood,
> And shows her lights below."

In his higher Pantheism, he sees the Reality as his vision, though it seems to be the work of a dream, a reverie—"and do we not live in dreams." Meister Eckhart is highly jubilant over the superiority of the inspired mood: "The meanest thing that one knows in God—for instance if one could understand a flower as it has its Being in God—this would be a higher thing than the whole world." It is a state of exalted emotion, a state of sublime reverie which assumes a visionary character. "Thought becomes pictorial, auditory or rhythmic. Concrete images, balanced harmonies, elusive yet recognizable, surge up mysteriously without the intervention of the will; and place themselves before the mind." [106] The vital flame of the vision carries around it the atmosphere of authority and grandeur, an aureole of enchantment a hypnotic trance. And we hear the " profuse strains of unpremediated art." [107] But the craving for a vision is always disastrous.

105. Augaries of Innocence
106. Underhill P. 272
107. Shelly : Sky lark

It is beyond the control of man and its objectivity controls him. It is

> " The undiscovered country from whose bourn
> No traveller returns," [108]

to give us a complete account, for it is never wholly communicable: and the poet takes recourse to suggestion. It is sudden, abrupt and the individual must be always ready to receive it. The vision pounces upon the poet in the middle, and as Browning observes:

> " I flung out of the little chapel " [109]

is almost a flash that is not the outcome of any endeavour. " It comes, we know not whence." Abt Vogler speaks of his skill in the art of music in glowing terms of perfection. The keys gave their sounds to a wish of his soul; and it is all " triumphant art." And he accounts for it:

> " But here is the finger of God, a flash of the will that can,
> Existent behind all laws, that made them and, lo, they are!
> And I know if, save in this, such gift be allowed to man."

The reality is the builder and maker " of houses not made with hands." It is only on earth that one finds 'broken arcs; in the heaven, a perfect round.'

> " But God has a few of us whom He whispers in the ear;
> The rest may reason and welcome; 'tis we musicians know."

Then follow the numbers automatically. In the great painters and artists of old, that have bequeathed immortal works as a legacy to the world, " there burns a truer light of God."

> " Their works drop groundward, but themselves, I know,
> Reach many a time a heaven that's shut to me." [110]

Everywhere it is the mysterious hand of divinity, made concrete in the form of inspiration that shapes these things. The sanctity and the inevitability of inspiration raises the work of art that was

108. Hamlet
109. Christmas Eve
110. Andrea del Sarto

produced under its spell to superhuman heights. It is this doctrine of inspiration that captivated the whole set of Ṛgvedic poets; and their earliest successors guarded these treasures as sacred treasures where the mystery of the universe is revealed.

Great poetry is of two types, as Abercrombie would have it.[111] One is the poetry of refuge and the other of interpretation. The latter is of fundamental importance in the life of man. The Ṛgveda belongs to this type as a new vitality envelopes the human being at each step. The mystic is famous for his apprehension of vital truths in each and every aspect of experience. Ṛgvedic poets have presented to us the same thing; but the great interval that yawns between them and us of the present day makes certain verses unintelligible for us. But a comparison with the great mystics of the world will unravel these beauties. The prime achievement of a great poet can be culled out from passages like

> " Flower in the crannied wall,
> I pluck you out of the crannie;
> Hold you here, root and all, in my hand,
> Little flower—but if I could understand
> What you are, root and all, and all in all,
> I should know what God and man is."

It is the " Infinite Ideality, Immeasurable Reality, Infinite Personality."[112] Similarly Vaughan in his beautiful poem on " The morning watch " writes the immortal lines breathing an air of calmness, vigour and supreme life,

> " The pious soul by night
> Is like a clouded star, whose beams though said
> To shed their light
> Under some cloud
> Yet are above,
> And shine, and move
> Beyond that misty shroud."

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111. **Idea of Great Poetry and The Theory of Poetry**

112. **The human cry**

And in his "Rules and Lessons"—

> "Each Bush
> And Oak doth know I AM.........
> Thou canst not miss his praise; Each tree, herb,
> Are shadows of his wisdom, and his power."

Eternity appeared to him "like a great Ring of pure and endless light, all calm, as it was bright." Time like a shadow was beneath it (The World). Everything appeared to Wordsworth as being "apparelled in celestial light," and it was his cardinal principle of faith that "every flower enjoys the air it breathes." [113] And in nature he has felt

> "A presence that disturbs me with the joy
> Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
> Of something far more deeply interfused
> Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
> And the round ocean and the living air,
> And the blue sky, and in the mind of man:
> A motion and a spirit, that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things."[114]

In nature alone when he was left under the spell of inspiration, he experienced

> "That blessed mood,
> In which the burthen of the mystery,
> In which the heavy and the weary weight
> Of all this unintelligible world,
> Is lightened."[115]

There is an eternally fresh lustre all round. And it is here that he found out:

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113. Lines written in early Spring.
114. Tintern Abbey.
115. *Ibid.*

" The language of the sense,
The anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse,
The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul
Of all my moral being."[116]

As Saul in Robert Browning assures us

" 'tis Thou, God, that givest, 'tis I who receive :
In the first is the last, in Thy will is my power to believe."

It is in this mood, under the spell of divinity that the soul of the poet is more active and really vital—

" That serene and blessed mood,
In which the affections gently lead us on,
Until, the breath of this corporeal frame
And even the motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep ;
While with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy
We see into the life of things."[117]

It is in these states, sensations and feelings, that there is 'life and food for future years.' And this mood and its results and effects secure it a permanent place in the lives of the nations. Religion takes its roots in the mystic's life and achievements. Self-surrender and obedience that play a prominent part in the illumination of the mystical consciousness, are the chief pawns in the hands of religion and the artist stands to his inspiration in the same relation.

This self-surrender is an extraordinary trait that is so characteristic of the mystics and the saints. They lose their empirical selves. They crave for something higher and get it utimately where they are secure and at perfect peace. The consciousness of a reality higher than ourselves and the unforgettable experience constitute the essential poetic and religious faith. It is the divine

116. Tintern Abbey.
117. *Ibid.*

afflatus. We cannot narrate it completely, for it escapes definition, escapes our grip of expression. It is at best a suggestion only. So we often come across passages like:

"*Iha bravītu Ya u tac ciketat*" (1.35 6)
"*So anga veda yadi vā na veda*" (X.129.7)
"*Na tam vidātha Ya imājajāna*" (X.82.7)

These are not negations but statements of profound implication. When once the poet rests in his inspired mood, he longs for ever to remain there. His main endeavour all the while is to get into that 'blessed and serene' mood. He talks to us of that mood alone, this is almost a foreign sphere to many an individual who does not care for such moods. So for him expressions uttered from that mood are often vague, misty and mystical.

Inspiration is a divine manifestation and the great poet shares this along with the seer of religion. Their starting point is the same and so is their goal to a very great extent. The process is coloured by each in his own way. The religious consciousness that is demanded of by the seer or the prophet is deposed by the poet; and over its ashes rises the consciousness of beauty, of art; in short it is the mystic consciousness. The basis of knowledge and wisdom according to him is intuitive. Cold intellectualism finds a proper fusion here; and the new born child is feeling. The poet expresses feeling and demands the same from his readers.

Awe and fear draw the poets near only rarely when Varuṇa, the guardian of the ethical order, is invoked. Here it is a question of the lack of self-confidence, fear of the future and repentance so to say. But the Vedic poets were jealous guardians of individuality. They took pride in it and asserted themselves. The Gods are not their superiors before whom they must appear with bended knee. It is a free man's worship on the footing of equality in a way. The deity is charged with certain duties, which he has to perform, for he too was once mortal. It is their priority that places the Gods in a divine atmosphere and the poets beg the sweetness of speech. They want to be inspired

almost with a religious intensity ; and it was this atmosphere to a certain extent that was responsible for the Ṛgveda being considered as a text book of religion.

Great poetry often is mystic : it is philosophic and religious. Both poetry and religion originate here and find their culmination too here. In the Ṛgveda it is a serene atmosphere which is fatally forbidden to linger over the darker aspects of the Universe ; their Gods co-operate with them and their material and spiritual wants are fulfilled. With the Gods they form a mighty fraternity and they are certain that the Gods will favour them with inspiration and sweet tongue. It is both a way of feeling and having a happy conception about things immediately. Their happiness is genuine. and irreclaimable as they are in the hands of divinity, in the company of Gods. This cosmic emotion manifests itself in the form of enthusiasm and freedom ; and in the Ṛgveda we have the inspired free man's worship of Beauty.

The Vedic poets firmly held to the conviction that their songs were sent to them by some superhuman powers. [118] The song is made after power and knowledge. [119] Even Varuṇa himself is said to be making the prayer [120] and he reveals his thought in the heart. Agni is the inventor of the bright song of praise. [121] Indra taught the holy songs to the bard who prayed him. [122] Another poet requests Agni to disclose his thought for him who sings, while he is praised with fervour. He has to vouchsafe the powerful hymn to the poets. Poetic wisdom springs from Agni and the thoughts and songs of praise come from him. [123] Agni is

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118. R.V. 1- 37. 4 ; 8. 32. 37.

119. 1. 31. 18. Etenāgne brahmaṇā Vāvṛdhhasva
S'aktī vā yat te cakṛmā vidà vā

120. 1. 105. 15, Brahma Kṛṇoti Varuṇo
Gātuvidam tam imah
Vyūrṇoti hṛdâmatim navyo jāyatām

121. 2. 9. 4. Īvam s'ukrasya Vacasomanotā

122. 3. 34. 5. Acetayad dhiya imājaritre premam
Varṇam atirae chukram āsam.

123. 4. 11. 3. Īved agne Kāvyā tvan manisàs tvad
Ukthâ Jāyante rādhyāni. See also 4. 11. 2.

the first inventor of the song.[124] Very many songs have met in Indra and many a noble thought proceeds from him.[125] The poet requests Indra to sharpen his thoughts as if it were a blade of iron. The prayer comes out from the seat of order.[126] Varuṇa has to sharpen the songs of the poet who strives his best and sharpen his strength and insight.[127] Bṛhaspati was pleased for he vouchsafed a voice that approached the Gods.[128] There are references to show that there were regular competitions among the bards which seem to have resulted in bringing forth the Brahmodyas and other riddle-songs. The art of poetry was very popular and the craving for originality was intense. Old poems were inherited and edited as new by a member of the ancient poet's family.[129] There are moments of inspiration when a new light flashes upon the individual. There is originality, a creation, as he alone has prepared himself to receive it. It is born with him, but " it is only a life of ardour and patience, struggle and persistence, that prepare him for it...................Inspiration is latent in man and with his own labours and experience he must bring it to the forefront. It brings in a transformed mind and a devoted will."[130]

" The Vedic poets believe in their own art, in their wonderful poetry and in the exaltation of mind which goes with its compositions."[131] They are cocksure that the Gods are satisfied completely with their compositions. They lick the gods with their hymns as a cow does her calf (10.123.1). This state approaches genuine and lasting religious consciousness in the

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124. 6. 5. 1. Ivam hy agne prathamo manotāsya dhiyo
Abhavo dasma hotâ.

125. 6. 34. 1. Samca tve jagmur giraindrapūrvīr
Vica tvad yanti Vibhvo maniṣāḥ

126. 7. 36. 1. Prabrahmaitu sadanâd ṛtasya

127. 8. 42. 3. Imàm dhiyam s'ikṣamàṇasya deva
Kratum dakṣam varuṇa sams'is'âdhi.

128. 10. 98. 7. Devasrātam Vṛṣṭivanam rarāṇo
Bṛhaspatir vācam asmā ayachat.

129. 1. 89. 3 ; 96. 2 ; 3. 39. 2 ; 8. 6. 11. 45 ; 8. 96. 6.

130. A. C. Bradley : Inspiration.

131. Maurice Bloomfield ; Religion of the Veda, P. 201.

Ṛgveda. "Belief in the beauty and fitness of those glittering, rhythmical and assonant stanzas; genuine rapture over the excited, throbbing mind, while the glow of the composition is upon the poet." [132] A peculiar self-confidence and strong individuality breathe throughout their compositions. This is the serene atmosphere of the healthy-minded. Pessimism has not yet made her historic entrance into the arena of art or life. They could not conceive of any sorrowful, gloomy, melancholic mood. Even when there occurred a death, they dance and smile (10.18.3), as if it is a thing to be amused at. It is this spirit, which William James, calls "the religion of healthy mindedness." The supreme example in the west is Walt Whitman who is totally unable to feel evil. There is a systematic expulsion in all his writings of all contractile elements. He allowed himself to express only the sentiments of the expansive order: and he expressed these in the first person, but vicariously for all men, so that a passionate and mystic ontological emotion suffuses his words and ends by persuading the reader that all things are divinely good. [133] This comment of William James fits in exactly into the interpretation of the Vedic poets, their poetry and their doctrine of art. They considered themselves divine and they felt as if they are composing with divine minds in an equally divine speech or language.

The poet is a *rebha* (singer), *ṛṣi* (seer), *Kavi* (painter, shaper) and *Vipra* (intellectual) (inspired). He is careful to stress the importance of inspiration in poetry wherever it is found possible. The compositions are called *Vipaḥ*, inspirations, and when he composes he tells us "*vepate Matī*", that he is inspired in his mind. The Gods and their poets have a beautiful fraternity; they co-operate with each other and promote the cause of poetry and inspiration. The poet is confident that the deity himself shall inspire him—

" That lovely glory of Savitar,
The heavenly god, we contemplate;
Our pious thoughts he shall promote."

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132. Bloomfield Religion of the Veda P. 202,

133. William James: Varieties of Religious Experience. Lectures IV & V. Religion of the Healthy Minded.

This is the famous Gāyatrī, sacred to the Āryans. The author of this *ṛik* "rose from nature's god and adored that sublime luminary which is visible only to the eye of reason and not the planet we daily see in its course." [134]

Just as grain is winnowed in the winnowing basket he offers the hymn for publication. Friends see and recognise the mark of friendship, for the voice of the hymn is the means of communication between men and gods. It is the wise in spirit that have created language.[135] Their heart was completely in the hymns when they were composing them. And even gods compose hymns of their own (10. 66. 5). Angi sends aloft the glorious hymn of brilliancy (1. 144. 1); and reverenced thought go forward from the holy task along the path of sacred law (3. 12. 7). It is given by the Gods (1. 37. 4 ; 8. 32. 7) and is robed with glowing colours and bright garments (1. 143. 7). The hymns have an inherent glow, the glowings of the poetic spirit that stand as the vital airs of every great work of art. This the Vedic poets knew well and were never tired of repeating, as it is a truth that is apt to be neglected.

They are confident and ecstatic in declaring that they have composed new songs which ought necessarily be the best the world has ever seen or heard. And as Bloomfield observes, "hymnal beautification of prayer can scarcely reach higher than the following:

" Prayer born of yore in heaven,
Eagerly chanted in the holy assembly,
Delightfully dressed out in bright array,
Ours is that father inherited prayer of old" [136]

(3. 39. 2)

The prayer itself, as has been stated previously, is divine. The hymn or devotion is often called Goddess—Goddess Devotion

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134. **Rajendralal Mitra : Introduction to his edition of Gopatha Brāhmaṇa P. 24.**

135. **R. V. 10. 71. 1, 2.**

136. **Bloomfield : Religion of the Veda. pp. 205-6.**

(*Dhī*). Goddess lovely praise (*Suṣṭuti*), Goddess Holy Thought (*Manīṣā*)

"*Imām dhiyam śatas'eyāya devīm*" (3. 18. 3)

"*Kasyemām devīm amṛteṣu preṣṭhām*
hṛdi s'reṣāma suṣlutim suharyām (4. 43. 1)

"*Pras'ukraitu devīmanīṣāasmat......*" (7.34.1)

"*Abhi vo devīm dhiyam dadhidhvans*
pra vo devatrā vācam Kṛṇudhvam" (7. 34. 9)

"*Gṛṇanto devyā dhiyā*" (8. 27. 13)

The poet asks, "On whose heart shall we lay this celestial song." It is a divine and brilliant hymn and this heavenly song lay close to the deity. They sing the hymn with God like thought and invoke each God for grace. It is this divinity that is truly revelation, a divine afflatus.

The divinity of devotion is highly mystical, along with the divinity of expression. The inspired thought or word is God to the Vedic poet. Bṛhaspati or Brahmaṇaspati is the lord of prayer. He is the devotional song or prayer conceived in the abstract and elevated to the status of a divinity. His consort is *Vāk*, speech. We also hear that *dhenā*, holy song, is his wife, just as *senā* or weapon is the wife of Indra. [137] Bṛhaspati is the sacred word, Brahmā. "Starting as prayer, charm, sacred formula, religious act, it becomes the symbol of holy thought and holy utterance, the outpouring of the soul in its highest longings. It is the best wish of a spiritually minded and gifted people that becomes for a while personal god and at last the divine essence of the Universe.........From the point of view of heartfelt emotion it is the most exalted divine conception." [138]

(*Concluded*)

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137. Bloomfield: Religion of the Veda. p. 244.
138. *Ibid*, pp. 273, 274.

THE SECOND INVASION OF THE PESHWA MĀDHAVA RAO AGAINST MYSORE 1767

By G. Narayana Rao, M.A.

THE Marāṭhas played a very prominent role in the destruction of the power of the usurpers in Mysore, particularly during the time of Haidar. Most of his wars were fought against the Marāṭhas. Wilks, the historian of Mysore, has not given due importance to this aspect of the rule of the usurpers for want of Marāṭhi sources at that time. The subsequent writers too have made very little use of the copious material available in thousands of Marāṭhi letters, probably due to ignorance of the Marāṭhi language. An attempt is made in the following article to throw fresh light from Marāṭhi sources on the second invasion of Mādhava Rao against Haidar. The English, French and Portuguese sources have also been used.

Haidar, not long after his final usurpation, and before he had fully developed his resources, found himself in 1767, opposed by three or four major powers of the south, the Marāṭhas being one such power. Haidar's ambassadors in the courts of the Peshwa Mādhava Rao and the Nizam could carry little weight, for the reason of his usurpation being not yet reconciled to by the foreign powers. Not until the close of the first Anglo-Mysore war did he secure a respectable place in the political sphere in South India. The confused political situation of South India, though to some extent resolved by the end of the Carnātic wars, continued to be unsettled for a long time. A proper understanding of the Mysore-Marāṭha relations and particularly the second invasion of the Peshwa Mādhava Rao against Haidar may be facilitated by a brief review of the then existing political situation in South India.

The Political Situation in South India

The long-drawn Carnātic wars and the struggle between the French and the English trading companies had been concluded by

the treaty of Paris, 1763 accepting Salabat Jang the prisoner in the hands of Nizam Ali, as the Subedar of Hyderabad and Mohamed Ali as the Nawab of Arcot. While these affairs had obtained a new status for the European powers particularly the English, the ambition of Mohammed Ali artificially stimulated by the counsels of corrupt English advisers, was fired by the idea of conquering the whole of the Deccan; and the Madras Government who tried to excel the achievements of the Bengal Government were unconsciously playing the role of dupes in his hands for some time. Their first encounter with the native powers after the Carnātic wars, drew them into a struggle with a major power led by a skilful general and an able diplomat like Haidar. Haidar in Mysore, having obtained firm possession of his place as head of the state from 1761, engaged himself in a programme of unbridled territorial conquest on all the four directions; though in 1765 his progress on the north was temporarily thwarted by Peshwa Mādhava Rao, he directed his attention to the west by conquering Cannanore, Calicut and others, while at the same time he had designs against Arcot for which purpose he sent Mahfouz Khan and Reza Alli Khan for talks in the court of the Nizam. Nizam Ali, though he was now free from fear at home, was feeling friendless abroad, with the unreliable Marāṭhas on the west (who had exposed him to grave danger twice once in 1761 when Ramchandra Jadhv deserted him during his march to Poona; and a second time in 1763 when Raghuji Bhonsle deserted the Nizam and joined Raghunatha Rao who defeated the Nizam on the river Godavari), and the English on the east who were trying to seize from him the Northern Sarkars and finally Haidar in the south who with his connection with Basalat Jang in Adoni could be little trusted. The Marāṭhas under Mādhava Rao distrustful both of the Nizam (who was a jealous and dangerous neighbour), and the English who had evil designs of obtaining from them the islands of Saśti-Bet, were more intent upon securing their yearly contributions from their dependencies in the Karnātaka, as well as of reoccupying the lands (Swaraj) once conquered by Balāji Rao Peshwa and now in the possession of Haidar, than of responding to the approaches either of the Nizam or of the English.

THE UNNATURAL ALLIANCES

With the four major powers of the south thus disposed in 1765, the occupation of the Northern Circars by the English brought matters to a head; and in October that year the Nizam and the Marāṭhas made a treaty with very different motives. The English who found the Nizam ill-disposed were compelled to make approaches to Haidar. But with their close connection with Mohammad Ali, whose supplantation Haidar had avowed, there was little chance of Haidar responding to the English approaches. He refused to receive their envoy. Thereafter on the recommendation of Lord Clive, the English made a treaty with the Nizam on the 12th of November 1766 in which they obtained his sanction for possessing Rajamahendri, Ellore, Chicacole and Guntur; and they promised to send an English detachment with him against Haidar. Mādhava Rao who had entered into an alliance with the Nizam in the previous year, now definitely looked upon with suspicion, this new Anglo-Nizam alliance which would mean a further division of spoils in case of an attack against Haidar, at the same time having the possibility of being used against himself to check the Marāṭha power after the fall of Haidar, who hitherto was at least able to check Mohammed Ali and the English on the East and the Nizam on the North.

However, from the point of view of Haidar, he was now opposed by a confederacy of three major powers, very strong if the resources of the powers were considered, but very weak if it was understood that this loose confederacy was only the result of diverse motives and mutual jealousies on the part of its members. From the very beginning there was something unnatural in this confederacy of the three powers namely the Marāṭhas, the Nizam and the English, who, not to speak of their having any common objectives, had enough subjects for quarrel among themselves. For the time being however, very strangely, the magnitude of their differences made them follow a common policy against Mysore. When the three powers were at war with each other, they were all interested in keeping Mysore a neutral power; while when they were in peace with each other they were interested in making common cause

against Haidar, lest anyone of them should make an exclusive conquest of territory in Mysore. The key to the successful foiling of such a confederacy lay in understanding this secret of the unnatural alliance. Haidar, the able diplomat, who understood this secret succeeded not only in dividing them but also in dealing effectively with each one of them. But when the confederacy was revived during Tippu's time, he failed miserably against it and ultimately brought about his own ruin.

IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE MYSORE-MARATHA WAR, 1767

The frequent invasions of the Marāṭhas against Mysore are partly the result of the policy explained above and partly the result of certain special features of Mysore-Marāṭha relations.

In October 1765 a treaty was entered into between the Peshwa Mādhava Rao and the Nizam for mutual aid against foreign powers and joint plans regarding the Karnātaka. The Nizam's motive was to use the alliance in case of a possible war against the English who were trying to seize the Northern Circars from him. The invasion of Mysore and Arcot were also among his plans. The immediate and secret objective of the Peshwa was however to prevent the Nizam from joining Bhonsle of Nagpur and Raghoba, in case of the latter's intransigence.[1] The invasion of the Karnātaka was a secondary consideration in making this treaty because, the Peshwa was confident of invading the Karnātaka and subduing Haidar, without outside help. After making the treaty with the Nizam, the Bhonsle was easily brought to terms. Then the Peshwa turned towards the Karnātaka and Haidar.

The Peshwa had genuine grounds of hostility against Haidar :

1. Considering the lenient terms offered by Raghunatha Rao to Haidar in March 1765, at the end of the first invasion, a secret understanding between Haidar and Raghunatha Rao did not go unsuspected. Later in April 1766, the Peshwa obtained definite

1. Khare: *Aithasika Lekha Sangraha.* (Referred to as *A.L.S.* hereafter). Introduction. P. 1012.

evidence to show that Haidar kept secret correspondence with Babujinaik, a close relation and now a rebellious Jagirdar under the Peshwa.[2] Further Haidar seems to have secretly negotiated with the Bhonsle of Nagpur who was also disaffected towards the Peshwa.[3]

2. One of the clauses in the treaty of March 1765 stated that Pallegars dependent upon the Marāṭhas were not to be interfered with by Haidar. But Haidar levied contributions in 1766 on the rulers of Harapanhully, Bellary, Chitradurga and others.[4]

3. Haidar had not paid the contribution due to the Marāṭhas for 1765-66.[5]

NEGOTIATIONS AT POONA.

In September 1766 the Peshwa informed the Nizam of his intention to undertake an early expedition against Haidar. Haidar was not unaware of the treaty between the Peshwa and the Nizam in October 1765 and of their plan to invade his territory this year. He also knew that the English were attempting an alliance with Nizam for a joint invasion of Mysore and that a treaty was actually signed on the 12th of November 1766 between the two. He therefore sent Mahfouzkhan (the elder brother of Mohammed Ali of Arcot) to negotiate with the Nizam, and Naroram and Appajiram to the court of the Peshwa at Poona in October 1766.[6] Of the two envoys sent to the court of the Marāṭhas, one of them,

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2. *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar* (referred to as S. P. D. hereafter). Vol. 37. Letter No. 99.
3. Wilks. Vol. I. P. 536; "*Memoirs of Haidar and Tippoo.*"—Punganuri, P. 14; M. M. D. L. T. Page 81.
4. *A. L. S.* Letters Nos. 595, 597, 611 and 612; also *S. P. D*, Vol. 37. Letter No. 109.
5. *Ibid.* No. 638.
6. The account given in "*The History of Hyder Ali Khan*" by M.M.D.L.T. stated that Mir Reza the brother-in-law of Haidar was in complete charge of purchasing a truce from the Marāṭhas, (91), and that Haidar trusted until the Marāṭhas actually commenced their march, that Mir Reza would succeed in the negotiations with the Marāṭhas, (p. 116). But it is clear from the Marāṭha correspondence that Haidar was personally issuing instructions to his vakils at Poona. (*A. L.* S. No. 618.)

Naroram seems to have been won over to the side of the Marāṭhas.[7] But these envoys were not able to satisfy the demands of the Peshwa. The Peshwa's conditions for a treaty were:

1. The territories taken by Haidar from Murar Rao to be restored.

2. Haidar should not interfere with the chiefs of Chitradurga, Raidurg and others dependent upon the Marāṭhas.

3. Haidar was to give up his claims for the Subedary of Sira.

4. Haidar was to pay a sum of Rs. 75 lakhs.

To which the envoy of Haidar replied;

1. That parts of Murar Rao's territorries were occupied because he was giving constant trouble.

2. That Haidar was the true heir for the Subah of Sira and that he could not give up the claim.

3. That parts surrounding Sira were formerly subordinate to the Subah and therefore Haidar had a right to collect tributes from them.

4. That if the Peshwa accepted the above situation, Haidar would be prepared to pay at the most 12 lakhs.

Since there was so much of difference between the terms of the two parties, the negotiations failed.[8] The Peshwa believed that Haidar was not sincere in his negotiations and that the contribution could not be collected without the use of force, and without demanding a far larger sum than was actually due.

The Peshwa Commences The March

The Peshwa joined the camp for the Karnātaka expedition on the 26th of October 1766. He first visited the sacred places, and marching through Pātas, Satāra, Mhāsvād, Nāzare, Sangoli, Utgi and Umdi, he arrived at Surāpur towards the end of December 1766.[9] A contribution of one lakh and 5,000 was collected from

7. *A. L.* S. No. 616; also page 1092.
8. *Ibid.* Page 1053; also Letters Nos. 616, 618, 637.
9. *Ibid.* No. 644

the chief of Surāpur.[10] Haidar had by this time sent his vakil Karimkhan for negotiations with the Peshwa through Gopala Rao Patwardhan. But since he was not prepared to concede much, the negotiations were prolonged for a considerable time; while, in the meanwhile the Peshwa crossed the river Krishna in the month of January and engaged himself in levying contributions from the several chiefs and Jagirdars before proceeding towards the Mysore frontier. The Marāṭha army collected tributes from Kittur, Raichur and Mudgal and many other places between the river Krishna and the Tungabhadra besides taking possession of places like Bhosaki, Lingasugur, Arakul, Yelbargi and others during the month of January.[11] Early in February the army crossed the river Tungabhadra. Tributes from places to the north and south of the river, like Kenchangudda, Gadwal, Bellary, Sidanur, Adoni, Karnul, Kanakagiri and Raidurg were collected.[12] The places which refused to pay tribute were usually being plundered and destroyed by fire. The Marāṭha army made a halt at Raidurg which was the northern frontier of Haidar's territory.

HAIDAR'S WHEREABOUTS

While the Marāṭha army was steadily advancing Haidar did not remain inactive. He made vast and thorough preparations to meet the invaders. Wilks' account suggests that when the Marāṭhas were advancing, Haidar was still at Coimbatore making arrangements for the consolidation of his western conquests in Malabar and that he arrived at Seringapatam only by the commencement of the year 1767, by which time the Marāṭhas had already marched very near the Mysore frontier.[13] The account given in "*The History of Hyder Ali Khan*" by M.M.D. L.T. also states as follows: "In order to secure himself from any interruption in the war he had projected (i.e. the war in the Malabar) Haidar wrote to Mirza Ali khan (Mir Reza), governor of Scirra, and his brother-in-law, to renew his truce with the Marāṭhas

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10. *A. L.* S. Page 1050: also S. *P. D.* Vol. 37. Letter No. 108.
11. *Ibid.* Pages 1049-1051.
12. S. *P. D.* Vol. No. 37. Letter No. 133,
13. *Wilks.* Pages 536-7,

which was on the point of expiring: a business not difficult to be performed, by means of a sum of money properly distributed among the chiefs." (p. 91.) Further that "As he was abused by Mirza, his brother-in-law, who everyday gave him reason to think the truce with Marattas would be soon renewed, he went forward with cheerfulness and in spirits; and arrived at Seringapatam with the conviction that he could easily parry every attempt of his enemies. But his astonishment was extreme, when Mughdoom Ali Khan informed him that there was reason to suspect the fidelity of Mirza Ali Khan; since he had learned that the army of the Marattas to the number of 1,50,000 men, was on its march from Pona, with Madurao, Nana of the Marattas, at their head, who was then beginning his first campaign; his march being directed towards Scirra, as Mirza could not but know, since he had envoys at Madurao's court." (p. 116-117.) It seems that Mir Reza who had completely dissipated the revenues of the government in amusements, fearing punishment from Haidar, was persuaded by his secretary to make a treaty with the Marāṭhas to defend him against Haidar Ali and to confirm him in the possession of the territory over which he was ruling. It is further stated in the same work that "The very day following that on which Mughdoom had apprised of the infidelity of Mirza, Hyder received news of the arrival of the Marattas into the country of Scirra......An event so totally unexpected overthrew all the projects Hyder had formed, and reduced him to the most difficult plan of defence." Apart from these two writers, Ramchandra Rao Punganuri in his "*Memoirs of Hyder and Tippoo*" (p. 14) mentions that Haidar arrived at Seringapatam from Coimbatore in the month of '*Māgha*' of the year *Vyaya* (i. e. February 1767), and further on page 15, that "Mir Ali Raza Khan had taken up his lodging at Sireh with 4,000 horse and 6,000 foot. And the Peshwa Madhava Rao made a sudden march to Sireh bringing 70 or 80,000 horse with him: he arrived in the month of *Māgha* in the year *Vyaya*." (i. e. again February 1767).* The account given by Robson [14] is as follows: "Hyder

* *Vyaya* can only be 1767 and not 1766 as mentioned in page 14 of "*Memoirs of Hyder and Tippoo*" by Ramachandra Rao Punganuri. Perhaps 1766 is a mistake of the translator. (1947, February, is *Māgha* of *Vyaya* and *Vyaya* 180 years ago could only be 1947 minus 180 = 1767.)

14. Robson: "*The Life of Hyder Ally*" p. 38.

on giving up the command of this army, returned with all possible speed, accompanied by his household troops to Seringapatam, having received private advices that Mahaderow, a mahratta chief, was in motion and preparing to recover the territories which his predecessor Goupalrauz had ceded to Hyder in the year 1760."

Thus the above four accounts suggest that Haidar was engaged in the campaigns in the west, during the whole of 1766 and that the Marāṭha invasion was so sudden and secret that Haidar arrived at his capital only too late to find that the enemy had alredy entered his territory.

However, the evidence available in the contemporary Marāṭhi letters completely disproves the above account and clearly shows that Haidar must have returned from his western campaigns in the month of September 1766 at the latest, and that besides being closely in touch with the progress of the Marāṭha army, he was making elaborate and prompt arrangements to meet the enemy. A letter [15] written on the 11th of August 1766, states that Mir Faizulla Khan with his army had arrived at Uttaradurga and that the chief of Harapanhully was negotiating with him. Moro Ballal's letter [16] of 13th September 1766, to Gopala Rao Patwardhan conveys the information that Haidar, after completing the affairs at Karnātaka had gone to Gutti. Goppala Rao's letter [17] of October 1766, written to Moro Ballal mentions that Haidar was attacking Bellary. Another letter [18] of Gapala Rao of October 1766 to Senappa Naik states that, Haidar on hearing that the Marāṭhas had started from Miraj, and that the Peshwa was also to start soon, patched up a peace with the ruler of Bellary and withdrew. Mir Faizulla, Haidar's general seems to have been at Raidurg at that time. [19]

From the above letters it can be seen that Haidar, expecting a Marāṭha invasion was trying to obtain as much wealth as possible

15. *A. L.* S. No. 595.
16. *Ibid.* No. 597.
17. *Ibid.* No. 611.
18. *Ibid.* No. 612.
19. *Ibid.* 613.

by way of contribution from the chiefs on the northern frontier of his territory, during September and October 1766, besides trying to strengthen the frontier.[20] At the same time he had sent an envoy by name Naroram and subsequently Appajiram also for negotiations at Poona, and the fact that the two envoys were frequently receiving letters from Haidar shows that Haidar was in close touch with the negotiations at Poona. The envoys however do not seem to have impressed the Marāṭhas about their or Haidar's sincerity in the negotiations.[21] The trend of their discussions shows that they were probably instructed to stay in the Marāṭha camp and observe the real intentions of the Marāṭhas :— whether they meant to invade only the northern Karnātaka for the purpose of contributions or whether they were serious about invading Mysore territory and what amount would satisfy them. This explains their continued negotiations without consenting to the Marāṭha demands until the latter actually invaded the territory of Haidar. In the meanwhile Haidar's troops were engaged in invading the territories of Harapanhully and Chitradurga Harapanhully was invaded in November;[22] the territory surrounding it was completely ravaged and the town itself was attacked; when, the ruler agreed to pay 35,000 *Hons* and durbar expenses. Chitradurga was invaded at the end of December 1766 by Mir Faizulla, Haidar's general, and the amount that the ruler there had kept ready for paying to the Marāṭhas was now paid to Mir Faizulla.[23]

It appears that Haidar had retired from the north in the month of November or December leaving his general Mir Faizulla there. It is probable that he might have gone to the capital to deal with the puppet Rāja Nanjarāja Wadeyar (who after the death of Chicka Krishnarāja Wadeyar in April 1766 was now king), who was showing signs of intransigence. The districts, the annual revenues of which amounted to three lakhs of Pagodas which were allotted for

20. S. *P. D.* Vol, 37, Letter No. 109.
21. *A. L.* S. Nos. 616, 618, 630 and 638.
22. *Ibid.* No. 640.
23. *Ibid.* Letter No. 643.

the personal maintenance of the Rāja were now resumed and the palace was thoroughly plundered. [24] Since Haidar was engaged in his campaigns in the west until the end of August [25] or beginning of September, and thereafter in the north, during September and October and probably during November also, he must have dealt with the Rāja only late in November or early December. Any way this affair took place after Haidar's return from Coimbatore and before his peace with the Marāṭhas. None of the contemporary records refer to Haidar's whereabouts during the months between December 1766 and February 1767. It is possible that after leaving Mir Faizulla in the north, and Mir Reza in Sira, hed ha gone once again to Coimbatore, to finalise the arrangements for the administration of the recently conquered territories in Malabar, the completion of which had been interrupted by the disturbing news of a possible powerful alliance between the English, the Nizam and the Marāṭhas, negotiations for which were going on after the failure of the talks of tfie English with Haidar. This would explain Haidar's hasty march to the capital in February 1767 when he heard that Mir Reza was about to be won over by the Marāṭhas; accounts of which are given in M.M.D.L.T. Robson (*Life of Hyder Ally*), and Ramachandra Rao Pungaunri (*Memoirs of Hyder and Tippoo*).

The Marathas cross the Tungabhadra

The Marāṭha army after crossing the river Tungabhadra early in February, marched steadily through Raidurg towards Sira, where Mir Reza with a powerful army had been stationed. Karimkhan, the envoy of Haidar, who was still negotiating, was now prepared to agree to the giving up of the Marāṭha territories which were taken by Haidar, as well as Murarrao's territories; but no agreement was reached regarding the amount of contribution to be paid. The Peshwa was asking for 70 lakhs, but Haidar's envoy offered to pay only 21 lakhs. The envoy took leave of the Peshwa and departed in February, promising to return within 15 days. [26]

24. Wilks. Vol. 1. P. 537.
25. Peixoto Manuscript M.A, R. 1937. P. 104.
26. *A.L.S.* Nos. 679, 680 and 682 ; also S.*P.D.* Vol. No. 37. Letter No. 133.

The Peshwa resolved that if the negotiations were renewed after the taking of Sira, then Sira would have to be claimed for the Marāṭhas apart from demanding more sums by way of contribution.

FALL OF SIRA.

When the Marāṭha army invaded the Mysore territory in the month of February, Haidar tried his best to impede the progress of the enemy. " He issued the most peremptory orders to all his officers, civil and military, to break down the embankments of the reservoirs of water, on the approach of the Marāṭha army; to poison the wells with milk-hedge; to burn all the forage, even to the thatch of the houses; to bury the grain; to drive off the wulsa, and the cattle to the woods; and to leave to the Marāṭhas neither forage, water nor food ".[27] But this plan of defence, though it caused some distress to the Marāṭhas, did not stop their advance. They knew the devices by which the above difficulties could be met successfully and their army marched along the dry and sandy bed of the Hagari. (Hayagriva) river; and the Peshwa reached Sira on the 12th of February 1767. A Marāṭhi news letter[28] of 10th February 1767 gives evidence of Haidar having visited Sira on that day, that is, two days before the arrival of the Peshwa's army, and having made arrangements for the defence of that place. He is said to have placed 75 guns and 5,000 men for the defence of Sira. Mir Reza had in his charge 8,000 regular infantary, 2,000 militia and 2,000 cavalry, besides the guns. The account given by M.M. D.L.T. that Mir Reza had previously conspired with the Marāṭhas does not receive confirmation in the Marāṭhi letters. The Marāṭhas, commenced the cannonade of Sira, the very day they reached the place. Mir Reza actually came outside the fort beyond the moat to fight the Marāṭhas. But the Marāṭha horse made an attack and forced him to withdraw into the town, losing 500 horses and 5 guns. The Marāṭhas had to delay the assault of the fort for lack of ammunition, which they were able to obtain from Bellary, Raidurg

27. *Wilks.* Vol. I. Page 550.
28. S.*P.D.* Vol. 37, Letter No. 133.

and Poona. The regular siege of the place commenced on the 15th of February. In the meanwhile Gopala Rao Patawardhan came and joined the main camp and on the 19th of February Murarrao Ghorpade also joined the camp. Mir Reza seems to have made a stubborn stand for some time and finally surrendered somewhere between the 21st and the 24th of February. There is no light from Marāṭhi sources on the cause of Mir Reza's surrender of such a strong fort as Sira. There must be some truth in the account given by M.M.D.L.T. that Mir Reza had fallen out with Haidar. However, there is no doubt that he surrendered the fort only after fighting for some days. He surrendered on the following conditions:

1. That he should be given the Jagir of Gurramkonda, in return for which he was to maintain 2,000 cavalry for the service of the Peshwa; and

2. That he should surrender to the Peshwa all the places that were under his control.

Mir Reza thereafter joined the camp of the Marāṭhas and the Peshwa appointed Mukund Shripat to be in charge of Sira.

Haidar's Preparations

The fall of Sira, so unexpected and sudden, was a serious blow to Haidar's plan of defence. With the fall of Sira the way was now open for the enemies to march towards the capital. Haidar therefore made most urgent preparations to strengthen the fort of his capital and he placed 300 pieces of cannon for its defence. Since the cavalry was of no use at the capital, it was divided into two parties one of which was sent under Mughdoom Ali, his general, towards Bangalore. The other detachment was sent under Mir Faizulla to Bednur with instructions to: (1) prevent the Marāṭhas from penetrating into Canara which had been recently conquered; and (2) to harass the rear of their army if they should advance towards Seringapatam.[29]

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29. M. M. D. L. T. Pp. 123-4.

Fall of Maddagiri, Dodballapur and other places

After taking possession of Sira, the Peshwa once again divided the army and sent Gopala Rao Patwardhan towards Dodballapur, while he himself marched towards Maddagiri. This strong hill-fort which had been greatly strengthened by Haidar, was very steep on three sides, from where it was impossible for the enemy to ascend. Only on the eastern side of it there was an irregular, narrow and slippery path which would be made further difficult by pouring oil on the path in times of danger from the enemy. However, against the Marāṭhas, the fort did not prove so very impregnable. The Peshwa attacked the fort the very next day after he reached the place; and a day after it, on 5th of March it surrendered.[30] A large amount of plunder fell into the hands of the Marāṭhas. The queen and the pretender to the throne of Bednore who had been imprisoned there by Haidar were liberated.

The Peshwa then marched from Maddagiri to Chennarayadurga, leaving behind Murarrao and Mir Reza to march later. He reached Chennarayadurga on the 8th of March. On reaching this place news was received that Murarrao's troops along with some followers in Mir Reza's camp had attacked and thoroughly plundered the latter's camp. The Peshwa suspected that Murarrao who bore ill-will towards Mir Reza was responsible for this act and he thought of seriously punishing Murarrao. But he was dissuaded from that act by Sakharambapu. However, the persons who actually took part in the plunder were severely punished and the articles which were plundered were all returned to Mir Reza; and the latter was assured that such things would not be allowed to repeat in future.[31]

While the siege of Chennarayadurga was proceeding, a part of the army was engaged in recapturing the territory which Haidar had taken from Murarrao. Places like Maruthgad, Sivagiri, Umā-Mahesvardurga, Kodikode, and Pilkode were all captured.[32] At

30. S. *P. D.* Vol. 37 letter Nos. 146, 147 and 148; also A. L.S. No. 691.
31. *A. L.* S. letter Nos. 692 and 694.
32. *Ibid.* No. 693.

the same time Gopala Rao was besieging Dodballapur. This fort was well protected by a moat which was about 10 to 15 feet deep and about 2,000 men were inside the fort. A native of that place by name Venkatanarayana Appa now visited the main camp of the Marāṭhas professing to help them in secretly winning over the Killedars not only of Dodballapur but also of other forts round about.[33] This person was directed to go to Gopala Rao who seems to have really made use of him in getting possession of really strong forts in comparatively short time, particularly in view of the fact that strong detachments of Haidar's army had been placed so near as Bangalore and Chickballapur. The Peshwa also was very much in favour of capturing them through secret means rather than by direct attacks. However Gopala Rao is said to have cannonaded the fort of Dodballapur and then taken it by assault on the 18th of March[34] (and not after 30th March as stated in some works). But it is very probable that its capture was facilitated by the defection of the Killedars.

Gopala Rao next marched for the attack of Chickballapur and other places round about. But before commencing the siege of Chickballapur he was called to help the Peshwa in his attack against Chennarayadurga which was strongly resisting the siege. Therefore he left about 500 horse at Chickballapur and joined the Peshwa's army.[35]

NEGOTIATIONS

In the meanwhile Haidar's envoys Karimkhan and Appajiram had renewed the negotiations with Gopala Rao Patwardhan. The Peshwa instructed him to demand.[36]

1. The restoration of Murarrao's territory taken by Haidar.

2. No interference with the states dependent upon the Marāṭhas ;

33. *A. L. S.* Nos. 697, 699, 700.
34. S. *P. D.* Vol. 37. No. 150.
35. *A. L. S. No.* 707.
36. *Ibid.* No. 688.

3. The cession of Basavapatna to the Marāṭhas; and

4. Payment of 40 lakhs as contribution.

But the envoys stated that Haidar was (1) prepared to pay 28 lakhs contribution and (2) to join service under Mādhava Rao in case the latter agreed to wage war against the English and Mohammed Ali of Arcot. Gopala Rao strongly pleaded that the terms might be accepted in view of the difficulty of maintaining garrisons in many places.[37] But the Peshwa was too shrewd to commit himself to these terms and refused to make any treaty which did not provide for the cession of territory to the Marāṭhas. He asked for the cession of all the territory now taken by the Marāṭhas and the Marāṭha territory still under Haidar's control; and he informed that in case Haidar did not make peace before the arrival of Nizam Ali the amount of contribution would be enhanced.[38] The negotiations therefore broke down.

FALL OF CHENNARAYADURGA, CHICKBALLAPUR AND OTHER PLACES.

The fort of Chennarayadurga withstood the siege for a considerable time. The Marāṭha guns pounded the walls of the fort for a number of days. The fort was surrounded and regularly besieged. Gopala Rao was asked to join in the attack against this fort. Finally a determined assault was made and the fort was taken on the 23rd of March 1767.[39]

Chickballapur was next besieged on the 30th of March and it fell early in April. The other places like Devanhalli, Nandidurga, Hoskote and Kolar were also taken in the first half of April and they were garrisoned.[40]

The objects with which the Peshwa had undertaken the expedition, namely, the recovery (1) of the "*Swaraj*" *i.e.* the

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37. *A. L.* S. No. 701.
38. *Ibid*, No. 706.
39. *Ibid*. No. 708.
40. S. *P. D.* 37. Letter No. 155.

territory which was once conquered by the Peshwa Balāji Rao, and (2) The territory of Murarrao which had been occupied by Haidar, had now been fulfilled. The Peshwa was now anxious to return in case Haidar agreed to pay the contribution.

THE NIZAM'S PROGRESS.

The Nizam, starting from Hyderabad, marched through Raichur and Bellary, and arrived at Raidrug by the second half of March accompanied by an English detachment. The Marāṭhas, however, were hastening to finish their work before the coming of the Nizam and the English, lest they should demand a share in the conquests. They therefore informed the Nizam to keep himself at a distance of 20 *cos* from the Marāṭha camp.[41] Haidar in the meanwhile, was trying his best to sow dissentions among the allies. His envoys were busy negotiating in the camps of the Nizam and the Marāṭhas. Haidar even offered to join service under the Peshwa, provided he was prepared to march against the English and Mohammed Ali.[42] The Peshwa, however, marched towards Bangalore and announced that after the coming of the Nizam's army they would march together towards Seringapatam; and thus he made Haidar believe that the three allies had really resolved to unite against Haidar.[43] During the month of April, the Nizam's army finally effected a junction with Marāṭha army and the two seem to have marched together for some time. On arriving at Chennapatna, however, the Marāṭha army under the pretext of being nearer to the forages, separated from the Nizam's army and encamped on the Caveri at 5 leagues from Seringapatam.[44] Haidar had now come to believe that a joint attack on the capital by the two armies was almost a certainty. Therefore, two days after the change of the Marāṭha camp, Haidar finally agreed to all the terms of the Marāṭhas. This treaty must have been conducted by the end of April; for, a news letter of 3rd May

41. *A. L. S.* No. 702.
42. *Ibid.* No. 701.
43. *Ibid.* Introduction. Page 1063.
44. *M. M. D. L. T.* Page 130.

gives the details of the treaty.[45] Wilks states that though the Marāṭhas finally retired in May, the treaty was made late in the month of March.[46] This however is incorrect.

THE TREATY

The terms of the treaty [47] were:

1. The Marāṭhas were to retain Sira, Maddagiri, Chennarayadurga, Dodballapur, Hoskote and others which were conquered during the time of Balāji Rao.

2. The rest of the territory which was recently conquered including Devanhally and Kundana in the district of Devanhally; Chickballapur, Nandidurga, Ganeshgad and Sidalgatta in Chickballapur district, and the other places in the district of Kolar were all to be restored to Haidar [48]. Haidar was also to retain Basavapatna.

3. Mir Reza was to be confirmed in the possession of Gurramkonda.

4. Haidar was not to interfere with Murarrao and other chiefs on the northern border, who were dependent upon the Marāṭhas.

5. Haidar was to pay a sum of 31 Lakhs; half to be paid immediately and the other half in two instalments; until which time Kolar was to be in the hands of the Marāṭhas. (Regarding the contribution, different sums are mentioned. Wilks mentions 35 lakhs; Gopala Rao in his letter [49] of 18th May, mentions 31 lakhs for the Marāṭhas and 14 lakhs for the Nizam—altogether 45 lakhs. The letters in Peshwa Daftar, Nos. 158 and 159 also mention 31 lakhs. The Peshwa in his letter [50] to Ramashastri says it was 33 lakhs.)

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45. S. *P. D.* Vol. 37. Letter No. 158.
46. Wilks. Vol. I. Page 565.
47. S. *P. D.* Vol. 37. Letter Nos. 158 and 159: also *A. L.* S. Page 1063 and Letter Nos. 718 and 721.
48. *Selections from Satara Raja's* and *Peshwa's Diaries* by G. C. Vad and K. N. Sane. Page 228.
49. *A L,S.* No. 721.
50. *Ibid.* No. 718.

6. The sum due by Haidar to the Nizam was to be paid, after which the Nizam was to return. If the Marāṭhas should mediate between the Nizam and Haidar, Haidar was to pay them a further sum of 14 lakhs of Rupees.

The Nizam and the English sent representatives to the Marāṭha camp to claim a share in the spoils. Colonel Tod was sent for this purpose and was accompanied by a confidential person on the part of Nizam Ali. The application of the latter for a share of the spoils was treated with broad ridicule and Colonel Tod, on his return, reported "that when he declared to Madoo Row, that he was come to talk on business, they (the Marāṭha durbar) could not keep their countenance, but burst out a laughing on his face." [51]

The Peshwa commenced his return journey towards Poona early in May 1767.

51. *Wilks*. Vol. I. pp. 558–9.

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SAWAL-E-JAWAB

[An account of the Holy Shrine of S'rī Venkatēs'vara.
Tirumalai-Tirupati (Chittoor District)]

BY V. N. SRINIVASA RAO

PREFACE

THE celebrated shrine of Śrī Venkates'vara of Vengadam—Tirumalai-Tirupati, in Chittoor District, is one of great antiquity and unequalled sanctity. Inscriptions on the temple walls disclose that the Yādava Kings, and their Cōḷa and Vijayanagara overlords, vied with each other in munificent gifts to the shrine contributing to the splendour of its festivals and providing amenities for the pilgrims visiting the shrine from all parts of India. After the final dissolution of the Vijayanagara Empire, the country round the shrine was acquired by the Sultans of Golconda who endeared themselves to their Hindu subjects by their tolerance and liberal gifts to Hindu temples. Aurangazeb broke up these Kingdoms and on the ruins of the Sultans arose the Nizams of Hyderabad and the Nawabs of Carnātic and this temple came under the protection of the latter. These Nawabs allowed the institution to go on as usual contenting themselves with the surplus income from the temple which they farmed out to Hindu renters. They were receiving an annual income of about two lakhs of rupees. Muhammad Ali, the patron and protege of the East India Company assigned the revenues of this temple to the East India Company for restoring his authority in the Carnatic as a sure source of discharging his dues to the Company. (This was between 1744 and 1750 A.D.) The East India Company continued the practice of farming out the revenues and contented itself with protecting the shrine from the attacks of adventurers, who swarmed

in this part of the country during the unsettled conditions prevailing after the break up of the Mughal Empire. This was also the period of weakness which afforded opportunities to the foreign merchants to acquire dominion in India. Muhammad Ali assigned the country round the temple, which was then included in the North Arcot district to the East India Company on 31 July 1801 when the direct management of the temple was taken over by the Company. The first Collector of North Arcot was Mr. Stratton who was then styled the Collector, Western Poliams. He made very careful and exhaustive enquiries not only about the territory entrusted to him but also about the history, tradition and resources of this temple. He asked a series of questions on all aspects of its administration and answers were furnished by those in actual management of the affairs of the temple and the information gathered from these questions and answers is locally known as "Sawal-e-Jawab" account. The arrangements he made for the management of the temple were mostly based on these reports. He constituted the country round Tirupati into a Taluk and the Tahsildar of Tirupati was in direct management of the temple which was expressed by the term "*Amani*" as against the previous practice of farming out the revenues to renters annually. The following account is a translation of a Telugu manuscript containing questions and answers relating to the *Staḷapurāṇa* of the temple. There are several other sections relating to the internal administration of the temple, its resources, land, etc. but these are owned by private persons and mutts and guarded secretly and produced in sections before law courts in support of claims for or against the temple. So far, no authorised version of the "Sawal-e-Jawab" account containing the entire material has been made available to the public by the Devastanam authorities. The Government have been equally reticent about the publication of the wealth of material that should be available with them, not only this, they have been refusing access to these records even to research scholars. The manuscript under translation is in the official style of the early nineteenth century and is undoubtedly genuine. The internal evidence in it shows that it was prepared in Fasli 1213, i.e. 1801-2 A.D. and it should be of considerable

interest as showing the great veneration in which the temple has been held even so lately as about two centuries ago and the respect which the ruling powers have all along shown in preserving its ancient customs and traditions without interference.

Further details about the temple and its administration will be furnished in a separate sketch.

SAWAL-E-JAWAB

Question 1. How many Yugas (ages) have passed since S'rī Venkateśvara took up his abode on these hills?

Answer. S'rī Venkateśvara first manifested Himself before Brahma and other Gods, Ṛṣis and Kings in the twenty-eigth Yuga before the present Kaliyuga. (Chapter 43 Vāmana Purāṇa.)

Question 2. After appearing on Tirumalai what induced Him to continue to stay here till now and give *dars'an* to people?

Answer. Knowing that people in Kaliyuga will be of feeble faith and wanting in capacity to engage themselves in severe austerities, Brahma entreated the Lord to continue his stay here and give them the *dars'an* which is sufficient to redeem them. To show His great mercy to mankind the Lord has been staying here to save and bless. (Chapter 2 of Brahmāndapurāṇa and chapter 1 of Brahmavaivartapurāṇa.)

Question 3. Which is the mountain going by the name of Tirumalai-Tirupati and S'ēs'ācalam?

Answer. In the middle of the earth, which is (*Panchas'at-koti*) five hundred crores of miles in extent, there is a great mountain called the Mahāmēru which is golden in colour. One of the peaks of this King of mountains is known as S'ēs'ācalam, also as the son of Mēru. (Chapter 26 of Vāmana Purāṇa.)

Question 4. When and by whom was S'ēs'ācalam brought here from Mahāmēru?

Answer. Many years ago in S'rī Vaikunṭa in the presence of the Lord a dispute arose between Vāyu and the thousand-headed

Ādi S'ēs'a as to who was more powerful. In the contest, Ādi S'ēs'a opened his thousand hoods and grasped tightly one of the peaks of Mount Mēru. In his attempt to blow Ādi S'ēs'a away together with the peak, Vāyu raised a terrible tempest which shook the heavens. Indra and the other Devas prayed to Ādi S'ēśa (Ananta), who is the embodiment of *satvaguṇa*, to concede victory to the rude Vāyu by releasing his hold of one of his hoods on the peak. On his doing so, a portion of the peak was blown away and falling here became S'ēs'ācalam.

Question 5. What is the extent of this range, north to south and east to west?

Answer. According to Brahmāndapurāṇa, this range extends five thousand miles north to south and five hundred miles east to west.

Question 6. Why is this mountain range called S'ēs'ācalam?

Answer. The Lord intending to reside here sent Ādi S'ēs'a in advance and he was asked to remain here in the form of a mountain range. As Ādi S'es'a himself is here in the form of a mountain, the range is called S'es'ācalam. (Chapter 3 of Brahmāndapurāṇa.)

Question 7. How did it aquire the name of Venkatacalam?

Answer. Once a Brahmin guilty of incest with a Candala woman consulted Ṛṣi Vaśiṣta as to the best mode of getting rid of the sin. On his advice he came here on a pilgrimage. No sooner than he reached the top of the hill, his body burst into flame like a cracker. Soon he was found standing uninjured but with a brighter and more handsome form than before. Only his sins had been consumed away in flames. The Devas and Ṛṣis who witnessed this miracle, named the hill Venkatādri or the extinguisher of sins. This is stated in chapter 1 of the Varāhapurāṇa.

Question 8. What are the various names applied to this range and under what circumstances was each of them aquired?

Answer. Several names are given to this range in Brahmapurāṇa and in chapter 4 and 5 of Brahmāndapurāṇa. Some

among them are (1) S'ès'ācalam, (2) Vriṣādri, (3) Vriśabādri, (4) Venkatācalam, (5) Nārāyaṇādri, (6) Garudādri, (7) Anjanādri and (8) Svarṇādri.

Nārāyaṇādri. An old Brahmin, named Nārāyaṇa, who was disgusted with life on account of his abject poverty and old age, deciding to end his life, got up the hill intending to throw himself down from its summit, but as soon as he had reached the top, the Lord appeared before him and blessed him with youth and unlimited wealth. On his prayer that the hill should be known thereafter by his name, the Lord granted the boon. (Chapter 3 of Brahmāndapurāṇa.)

Vriśabādri. When Lord Venkateśvara killed Vriśabasura. He granted his wish that the hill should be called after hsi name. Hence it is known as Vriśabādri. (Chapter 4 of Brahmāndapurāṇa).

Vriśādri. As there are many sacred *thīrthams* on this range it is called Vriśādri.

Garudādri. As Garuda brought this hill from S'rī Vaikunṭa for the sport of the Lord it is called Garudādri.

Narasimhādri. As there is the shrine of Narasimha in the centre of this range it is known as Narasimhādri.

Anjanādri. As Anjanā Devi begot Ānjanēya, the great general of S'ri Rāma, by performing penance here, it is called Anjanādri.

(Note : Explanation for Svarṇādri not furnished. This peak is a part of the Golden Mountain—Mount Mēru.)

Question 9. What sacred *thīrthas* are there on this range and how have they acquied their names ?

Answer. It is said in the purāṇas that there are three and a half crores of *thīrthas* in various parts of these hills. The chief among them are: (1) Kumāradhāra, (2) Tumburukōṇa, (3) Kataha *thīrtha*, (4) Akāṣa Gaṅga, (5) Papavināsam, (6) S'ēs'a *thīrtha*, (7) Cakra *thīrtha*, (8) Pāṇḍava *thīrtha*, (9) Svāmi Puskaraṇi, (10) Gogarbham, (11) Bharadvāja *thīrtha*, (12) Vaikunṭa *thīrtha*, (13) Aṣti *thīrtha*, (14) Sanakādi *thīrtha*,

(15) Yuddanirasta Rasāyana *thīrtha*, (16) Brahma *thīrtha*, (17) Visvaksena *thīrtha*, (18) Indra *thīrtha*, (19) Kapiladhāra *thīrtha*, (20) Vajra *thīrtha*, (21) S'ankacakrādi pancha *thīrtha*, (22) Agnēya *thīrtha*, (23) Vāmana *thīrtha* and (24) Brahma-Kṣatriya-Vaisya-S'ūdra *thīrtha*, etc.

Kumāradhāra. God Subramania killed Tārakāsura in the wars between Devas and Asuras. At the suggestion of his father, God S'iva, he took bath in Kumāradhāra and he was freed from the sin. Again Nārāyaṇa, who was contemplating suicide on account of infirmity and poverty was advised by the Lord to take a bath in this *thīrtha* and on doing so, he was blessed with youth and wealth. (Chapters 3, 4 and 5 Mārkandēya Purāṇa.)

Tumburu Kōṇa. In some previous Yuga, two Ṛṣis Nārada and Thumburu were travelling all over the world in their celestial cars. Thumburu indulged in the praise of mortals. Suddenly he was dropped down to the earth from the celestical car. He bathed in this *thīrtha* as a result of which his sin was washed away. The celestial car reappeared and took him back to heaven. (Garuda purāṇa and chapter 51 of Brahmōttara purāṇa.)

Kataha thīrtha. This is otherwise called *Thotti thīrtha* which is inside the *prakāra* of the temple. A sip of this water removes all evil influences and secures success in all undertakings. Though all castes are allowed to touch this *thīrtha*, it is not considered polluted. (27 Chapter, Skāndapurāṇa.)

Akūsa Gaṅga. The Lord sent an arrow into the ground and brought the Ganges here. A bath in it removes all sins and secures fulfilment of all desires.

Svāmi Puṣkaraṇi. It is not possible to describe adequately the greatness of this sacred *thīrtha*. It is believed that in *Dhanurmāsa* (Dec.-Jan.) *Suklapaks'a-dvādasi*, early in the morning all the sacred waters of all the sacred places on earth and in heaven including the waters of the rivers, Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati, Kaveri, Godavari, Tungabhadra enter Svāmi Puṣkaraṇi and bathe in it in order to purify themselves. The efficacy of a bath in this Puṣkaraṇi at such a time can easily be imagined. (Vāmana Purāṇa, chapter 30.)

Pāpavinasam. All sins drop off at the very sight of this *thīrtha.* A bath in it confers great merit. (Chapter 3, Brahmānda Purāṇa.)

Rasāyana Thīrtha.—Old persons, even those who have attained the age of hundred years, when they bathe in this *thīrtha* become young and do not suffer from old age again. They will attain the strength of several elephants.

About four hundred years ago, an old woman, who had come to the hills on a pilgrimage, was returning from a bath in Kumāradhāra; feeling very thirsty on the way she plunged her drinking vessel in this *thīrtha* to get some water. On removing it from the water, she found the vessel was changed into gold. The pilgrims who witnessed the miracle were struck with awe and when they attempted to take a bath in it, the waters went underground. Hence it was named Rasāyana *thīrtha.* (Rasāyana= Alchemy.)

Kapiladhāra Thīrtha. This is situated at the foot of the hills to the south of them and to the north of Tirupati Town. Kapila Maharṣi installed a Śiva Liṅga here and was doing penance calling the God, Kapileśvara, after his own name. To the west of this *thīrtha,* there is the shrine of God Narasimha. In this temple there is a cave. Thondaman used to visit the temple on the hills through a passage from this cave. (Brahmānda Purāṇa, chapter 7.)

Question 10. Who are the Ṛṣis that performed *Tapas* (penance) on these hills and where are their *Āśramās* situated?

Answer. Several Yugas ago, King Daśaratha did penance at the foot of the Pipal tree (*Aśvatha*) on the banks of Svāmi Pūskaraṇi for obtaining children. Kumarasvāmi did penance at Kumāradhāra Thirtha. It is said in the purāṇas that Ṛṣis like Agastya and others obtained their final *siddhis* only after performing *tapas* on the hills. (Mārkandēya Purāṇa, chapter 2; Vāmana Purāṇa, chapter 22; Varāhapurāṇa, chapter 43.) The Pipal tree under which King Das'aratha performed his penance is still found on the banks of Svāmi Puskarāṇi. Kumārasvami Āśrama can be seen at Kumāradhāra Thīrtha. Agastyāśrama is located on the top of

Chandragiri hill to the south of S'es'ācalam. The āśramas of Sanaka and Sanandana are within a mile of Papavinasam. The ās'ramas of Sapta Ṛṣis (seven ṛṣis) are situated to the north-east, at a distance of about ten miles from the temple. Besides those mentioned several other āśramas of Ṛṣis are found, scattered here and there on the range.

Question 11. Are there any special characteristics also in the animals, birds, trees and plants found on this sacred range?

Answer. Everything that takes birth on these hills men, animals, plants, insects or anything else attains *Mukti*. It is recorded in the purāṇas that many Devas, Ṛṣis and spiritually advanced men prefer to be reborn in this range as animals and inanimate objects to secure a surer and quicker means of salvation. This is the difference between the objects found existing on these hills and those found in other places of pilgrimage and hence their claim for being treated with veneration. (Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa, chapter 4, Varāhapurāṇa, chapter 6, Vāmana Purāṇa, chapter 12.)

Question 12. What Gods have manifested themselves on this range and at which places?

Answer. This range being in the form of Ādi Śēs'a, Śrī Venkatēśvara manifests himself on the portion representing the hood. At the centre of the body of the serpent, represented by Ahōbilam, God Narasimha manifested himself; at the tail represented by S'risailam, God Mahēśvara manifested himself. (Brahmāndapurāṇa chapter 2; Padmapurāṇa chapters 28 to 31.) The three Gods confer earthly prosperity and ensure salvation for their votaries by the mere *darśan* of their glorious divine forms.

Question 13. Why are Mlecchas and Candālas forbidden from climbing the hills?

Answer. Many Purāṇas declare that this hill is the personification of Ādi S'ēs'a. Many wise men and sages, therefore, considered it profanation to set foot thereon and that the mere sight of the hill will confer the same merit as the actual *darśan* and worship of God himself on the hill and built their ās'rams at the foot of the hills and offered their prayers. This prohibition against

climbing the hill does not apply to all. Those who had work to do in the temple were allowed to go up the hill after making themselves absolutely clean. The bar as to Mlecchas and Candālas goes back to an antiquity (which is said to have come into vogue by the desire of Lord Venkatēs'varā himself). From actual experience it has been found that if Mlecchas either by accident or design attempted to climb the hill, they met with some obstruction or obstacles. This is so well-known that to this day Mlecchas do not attempt to ascend the hill. This belief is universally known and followed implicitly.

Question 14. Why do dwellers on the hill suffer from fevers such as Malaria during *Pālguṇa, Cāitra, Vaiśākha and Jyeṣta* months? (March, April, May and June).

Answer. As the hill is said to be Ādis'ēs'a himself, great sages say that Ādis'ēs'a exhales poisonous air during these four months. But a few observers attribute the unhealthiness during these four months to the blasts blowing over flowers of poisonous creepers and shrubs on the hill, which blossom during this period.

Question 15. What rivers rise from these hills? What special sanctity is attached to each one of them? Are they associated with any great sages and if so what particular spots on the banks are considered specially holy on account of their residence?

Answer. A big river, the Svarṇamukhi, springs from this hill. According to Skānda Purāṇa, seventh chapter, the Ganges is said to have come down here in this shape. The Svarṇamukhi is so called, because, this hill, from which it rises is considered to be the golden peak of Mount Mēru. Five miles from this hill is Agastyās'rama on the bank of the Svarṇamukhi. Agastya worshipped Rudra and installed a Liṅga and called it Agastēs'vara, after his own name. In the middle of the river, a representation of the feet of Rudra is installed. The purāṇas declare that ceremonies performed here, have as much potency as those performed at the "*Viṣṇupādās*" on the banks of the Ganges in Gaya.

About five miles from this hill, on the bank of this sacred river, sage Parās'ara established an ās'rama, installed a Liṅga,

calling it Parās'arēs'vara after his own name and was doing penance. On account of this, several other sages had settled themselves round about the ās'rama for penance; therefore, the appellation of Yogimallāpuram. These details are found not only in Skānda but also in the second chapter of Mārkandēya Purāṇa; again, within a couple of leagues from this hill to the south of it, on the banks of the Svarṇamukhi was the hermitage of the great yogi S'rī S'uka, the inspirer of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa. He installed here the images of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa and was doing penance. Since then the place was known as S'ukapuram. By usage it has now acquired the name of Chiratānūr or Tirucānūr (Tiru-S'ukanūr). Even now the same Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa are fulfilling the desires of the devotees and blessing them with their *darśan* which is obtained easily.

Question 16. What is the name of the sacred lake on the bank of the Svarṇamukhi and who is its presiding deity?

Answer. The lake is known as "*Padmasarōvaram*" and it is situated in the centre of S'ukapuram otherwise known as Tirucānūr, on the banks of the Svarṇamukhi.

Question. Why is the lake called Padmasarōvaram?

Answer:—S'rī Venkatēs'vara after his incarnation at Venkatācala performed a great penance in order to obtain Lakṣmi. He dug up a lake here and placed in it a celestial creeper bearing golden lotuses. He also installed Suryanārāyaṇa on the eastern side of the lake so that the lotuses may bloom both day and night without fading. In deference to his penance, Lakṣmi manifested herself before him in a lotus in the centre of the lake. The lake goes by the name Padmasarōvaram since then.

Shrines of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa are to the north of this pond; Padmāvathi (Lakṣmi) was installed to the south-east of this lake. (Further details will be given later under questions and answers relating to Venkatēs'vara Mahatmyam.)

Question 17. It is stated in the Purāṇas that Venkatēs'vara took up his abode in S'ēśācalam several yugas ago. So far, only the greatness of the hill and the sanctity of the river Svarṇamukhi

have been described but little has been said about the God himself. The question is, which aspect among the several manifestations of God, does Lord Venkatēs'vara represent ?

Answer. S'ri Venkatēs'vara is declared to be the superme God—S'ri Mahā Viṣṇu in the following Purāṇas : Mārkandēya, Garuda, Brahmā, Brahmānda, Varāha, Bhugōḷa Varāha, Padma, Vāmana, Skānda, Bhavis'yottara, Mahābhārata and in the Ascarya-parvan of Harivaṁṣa.

Question 18. Which is the real form of S'rī Venkatēs'vara ?

Answer. S'rī Venkatēs'vara is the embodiment of the Absolute Effulgence. Further details about this will be found in the purāṇas mentioned previously.

Question 19. With the changes in time were there any changes in the form of Lord Venkatēs'vara ?

Answer. Actually Venkatēs'vara is in the form of "a mass of Self-Effulgence." To Brahma and others who meditated on him in certain ages the Lord appeared in the form bearing S'aṅkha and Cakra. Moreover, the Lord is always changing. His grace is such that He appeares to His devotees in the form in which they adore Him. He assumes various shapes and forms suited to his mysterious purposes of creation. He manifests Himself in diverse forms and in one form.

Question 20. Where did Venkatēs'vara hail from ? Was Lord Venkatēs'vara brought over here from some other place or did he manifest himself here directly or was he installed here with any special object ?

Answer. Lord Venkatēs'vara came down from Vaikunta to sport on the hills and to fulfil the desires of Brahma and other Gods and great sages, like Vas'iṣta and to give salvation to man-kind. That is why this place is known as a "*Svayamvyakta-staḷa*" (*i.e.* a place where God manifested himself directly as distinguished from places having man-made [sculptured] images of Him. These details are found in the purāṇas mentioned *supra*).

Question 21. When did this Lord arrive here and to whom did He appear in His divine form ?

Answer. This Lord came over here in the twenty-eighth Mahāyuga itself and appeared to Brahma and others. In the Kaliyuga, as people's minds are steeped in ignorance he draws them to himself by force and receives various offerings from them by fulfilling their desires. To some he appears in "*Arcarūpa*" (the present idol form) and to several others in several forms convincing them of His grace and His sportive mood. This is mentioned in the Varāha, Vāmana, Bhavis'yottara, Brahma, Brahmānda and Padma purāṇas.

Question 23. What are the various sacred names of this Lord? Who all worshipped the Lord and what objects had been attained by them?

Answer. The most current names of this Lord are Śrī Venkatēs'vara and S'rīnivāsa. But His names are innumerable. Gods such as Brahma and sages such as Agastya, did great penance to Him and achieved their hearts' desires. King Das'aratha did penance for about ten thousand years and obtained sons. Anjanādevi worshipped Him and begot Ānjanēya. Many Brāhmins and Kings worshipped Him and attained their objects.

Question 24. After his appearance here what are the various diversions in which He had sported?

Answer. Once upon a time there was a king named Ākāṣarāja who had his capital at Nārāyaṇavanam twenty miles from Tirupati. He was desirous of getting children. One day while ploughing a field he found a lotus in the middle of which was a baby, girl. He was overjoyed and adopted her and named her as Padmāvati. In due course Padmāvathi attained the marriageable age. She was divinely beautiful. Lord Venkatēśvara desired to marry her. He took the form of a handsome young man, gracefully attired, mounted a fine horse and entered the grove where Padmāvati was amusing herself with her maids, on the pretext of chasing an elephant. He contrived to present himself before Padmāvati and by his artfulness made her fall madly in love with Him. Then He started negotiations, for marrying her through Vakuḷa, S'ri S'uka and others. After his marriage, he performed many wonderful deeds. This information is contained in Bhavis'yottara purāṇa, Varāha and other purāṇas. In Nārāyaṇavanam,

in proof of this episode, there still exists a shrine dedicated to Kalyāṇa Venkatēs'vara who exactly resembles the Lord here (on the hills), in the splendour of His divine beauty and grace. During the time of Thondamān Cakravarti, the brother of Ākāṣa-rāja, the Lord had worked many amazing wonders.

Question 24. In olden days who all had built mantapas and prakāras for the shrine and who all had improved or renovated them ?

Answer. In the twenty-eighth Mahāyuga, in the Kaliyuga a King named S'ankha Mahārāja built the Garbha Gṛha, Gopura, mantapams and prakāras. This is stated in 33, 34, 35 and 36th chapters of Vāmana purāṇa and referred to in Skānda and other purāṇas also. Later on Thondamān, built the main shrine, with Vimāna, gopuras, mantapas and prakāras, with the assistance of Brahma and other Gods. In this Kaliyuga the Cōḷa and the Pāṇḍya Kings have reconstructed the gopuras, mantapas and prakāras. This information is found in Bhavis'yotara and others purāṇas.

Question 25. Who is the person who first instituted a festival in the temple, what is the festival and how has it been continued since then ?

Answer, When the Lord appeared first to Brahma on this hill, the latter, initiated the festival of *Brahmōtsava* in *Kaṇya-māsa* for a period of nine days, from *Dvajharōhaṇa* (flag hoisting) onwards, himself, officiating as the priest. Since then, by his command celebrations are being conducted according to the rites prescribed by him to date, without any break. He further ordained that devotees who arrange for the performance of *Brah-mōtsava* on ordinary days also would acquire great merit. Accordingly several people pay the prescribed fees and celebrate this *Utsava.* But during such festivals, except *Dvajharōhaṇa* and *Avarōhaṇa*, every other detail, such as procession of the God on the appointed vehicles (*Vāhanas*) is gone through, as in the regular *Brahmōtsava.* Complimentary presents are given to those devotees who celebrate this festival. Many *bhaktās* (devotees) celebrate *Brahmōtsava.* As Brahma initiated this

form of festival, it is called *Brahmōtsava*. Those who cannot afford to celebrate the *Brahmōtsava* perform *Garudōtsava*, *Kalyaṇōtsava* and other *Utsavas* according to their means, paying the fees prescribed and enjoy the benefits accruing from such services to the Lord.

Question 26. Did Śrī Rāma at any time visit this shrine?

Answer. In Kritayugā Śrī Rāma camped on this Hill for a night along with his monkey horde on his march to Rāvaṇa's kingdom. Then, Hanumān and other monkeys roaming about in the neighbourhood entered the Vaikunṭa cave and seeing the splendour of a vision of Lord Śrīnivāsa, came out in wonder and narrated their adventure to S'rī Rāma. S'rī Rāma, thinking that it did not behove him to admit that it was all due to his own power of *māyā*, explained to the monkeys that the wonder was all due to the mountain itself. While returning along with Sīta and Lakṣmaṇa, after killing Rāvaṇa, Rāma dwelt at Tirupati for sometime. The temple of Kodandarāmasvāmy at Tirupati commemorates this visit. In this temple S'rī Rāma, Sīta and Lakṣmaṇa stay in the form of idols and bless their devotees fulfilling their desires. This account is found here and there in several purāṇas and also in Varāhapurāṇa.

Question 27. Which of the various services in the temple initiated by Brahma or the ancient kings are still continued in the manner prescribed by them?

Answer. Lord Venkatōs'vara lived in the forest before he appeared to S'ankha Mahārāja. Then, the fourheaded Brahma used to bathe the God in milk every Friday, himself taking the form of a cow and then worship him performing the various rites. Thereafter, S'ankha Mahārāja and other performed these services regularly. So also even today this *abhiṡeka* (bath) with milk is offered every Friday. Other services are, a service called *Pulakapu* in which a paste made of civet, sandal, saffron and paccakarpuram (refined camphor) is smeared over the Lord; every year *Brahmōtsava* is performed in *Kanyamāsa*. Besides these, *Brahmōtsava*, *Garudōtsava* and *Kalyaṇōtsava* and other *Utsavas* are celebrated whenever devotees arrange for such festivals.

Question 28. What is the reason for the Lord wearing a *Nāgābharaṇa*, (serpent ornament) and the rule for worship with *Bilva* leaves ?

Answer. In olden days Agastya and other sages worshipped this Lord as S'iva using the special forms of worship prescribed for S'iva. This is stated in the sixtieth chapter of Bhavis'yōtara purāṇa. Later on, when Thondamān prayed to this Lord to give him victory over his rival in war, it is said, that this Lord lent him his s'aṅka and cakra, and was withont these emblems. He was then worshipped as God Subramanya; *Arcana* (worship) with *bilva* leaves and adornment of the Lord with the *nāgābharaṇa* came into vogue since then. Latterly S'ri Rāmānuja who was a follower of Vaiṣṇavism invested the God with gold emblems denoting s'aṅka and cakra and arranged for worship of the God according to the rites of *Vaikhānasa āgama*. It was, then ordained by the Lord himself that *nāgābharaṇa* should continue as before and that he should be worshipped with *bilva* leaves during the month of *Margazhi*. Moreover, from time immemorial, it has been declared that as the shrine is equally sacred to all the three religious sects there is sanction for all form of worship on the hill.

Question 29. Leaving out of account the ornaments offered by Brahma and other Gods, who are the kings, in this age, who endowed the shrine with gifts of ornaments etc. and where have they been seen secured now ?

Answer. After the s'āka year 1074, from *Projotpathi*, King Pratāparudra of Wārangal, reigned for fifty-eight years. He was a famous king. Nine lakhs of bowmen guarded his palace. He ruled from the Narmada to cape Comorin. Pratāparudra offered a *ratnakavaca* (armour studded with rubies) worth eighteen lakhs of gold mohurs and also performed *Kanakābhiseka* with eighteen lakhs of gold mohurs. This is inscribed on the walls of the second prakāra of the temple. Innumerable ornaments offered by several kings must be available. That is why there is the tradition that Lord is the "possessor of a crore of ornaments." As the present era is Kaliyuga when most people are likely to be impious and also on account of certain insurrections within the

temple, the treasures are hidden on the path of *Pradakṣiṇa* (circumambulation) which is three hundred yards long and forty yards broad; It is closed by doors and rivetted with stones and is not open to public like other places of worship in the temple. Hearing this account, a Tahsildar named Srinivasacarya, attempted to investigate the truth of this tradition. He, however, could not proceed with the work owing to the sudden illness of the men employed for the purpose. He gave it up thinking that it was useless to attempt the task untill the Lord himself directed them to do so. Elders say that several other attempts were made to locate the treasure but on every occasion they met with some obstacle or the other.

Question 30. There are ever so many temples in the world but why is it that so many offerings are made to this Lord only?

Answer. It is said in the Brahmānda purāṇa that the Lord blesses such devotees as propitiate him with votive offerings, with prosperity, children, good health, victory over enemies and the many good things of life. The Lord through "*Āvesa*" convinces the devotees of His presence and enforces compliance with the vows taken by them. There is a tradition handed down by elders, that once upon a time, when S'rī S'ankarācārya visited the shrine he installed a '*Yantra*' and an "*Akarṣana Cakra*" near the Padmapitam of the God; on that account valuable gifts are being offered to the shrine.

Question 31. What is there in the idol of Venkatēs'vara which is not present in other idols? What are the miraculous happenings within the past one thousand years?

Answer. About eight hundred years ago, a great man, Tirumala Nambi by name, though very old, due to his great devotion to the Lord, used to go to Pāpavināsa *thīrtha* daily and bring a potful of water for the worship of the Lord. Days passed when one day when he was bringing water for the worship, the Lord intending to test him, appeared before him in disguise and begged him to give a little water pleading great thirst. But the old man declined to give him any. The Lord then drank up all the water in the pot unknown to Nambi, by causing a hole in

the pot with an arrow, and then disappeared. Finding that the pot he was bringing was empty Nambi once again proceeded to Pāpavināsam *thīrtha* to fill it. But he had fainted on the way. Then the Lord appeared before him, comforted him and instructed him that in future he may get water from Ākāṣaganga (which is nearer) and then disappeared. Thenceforward water for the worship of the Lord is being got from Ākāṣaganga. The descendants of Nambi are continuing this service to this day. One member of this family was the famous Tirumala Tātācarya.

Tirumala Nambi built a mantapam at the spot where the Lord appeared to him and installed the footprints of the Lord in it. There is an inscription near the spot recording this episode. By the grace of the Lord, there has been plentiful and perennial supply of water in Ākāṣganga and it has not been known to shrink in volume even during the worst drought.

About eight hundred or one thousand years ago a devotee named Ānandālvar was showing his piety by supplying flowers for worship. He wanted to have a good supply of water for the flower garden he had raised and was digging a tank after vowing to take no assistance excepting that of his wife. The Lord could not endure the sight of their labouring without help. Disguising himself as a *brahmacāri* (bachelor) he was helping them in removing the excavated mud and putting up the bund. Ānandālvar when he noticed this, could not tolerate a third party helping in his chosen task for the Lord and threw stones at the *brahmacāri*. One of them caught the bachelor on the chin and he immediately disappeared. In the temple, the *arcakās* who were worshipping the Lord, noticed blood dropping from the chin of the Lord. All were amazed. The Lord through the medium of one of those present (*Āves'a*), narrated how he had sustained the injury. Immediately the *arcakās* applied *gambūra* powder (refined camphor) to that part. Even to this day *gambūra* powder is applied to the chin of the image during the daily worship. The tank too exists to this day and is known as Ānandālvar tank.

About eight hundred years ago another devotee named Kuruka Nambi, born in the potter's caste, was engaged in his traditional

work of making pots. He set up a picture of the Lord in a portion of his hut and was offering worship to it with lotuses made of mud. The *arcakās* of the Lord at the Tirumalai at the time of worship noticed some lotuses made of mud at the feet of the Lord and were very much amazed. As usual the Lord announced through *Āves'a* that he had accepted these mud lotuses from a devotee named Kuruka Nambi. This Nambi built a gopuram on the path to the Tirumalai hill and this story is recorded in the inscriptions on the gopuram. It is said that his potter's wheel too was seen exhibited on the pathway to the hill for a long time.

About five hundred years ago a great *bairāgi*-chief named Hattirām Bavāji, belonging to Northern India, learning from his guru that he would be blessed with a vision of the Lord on the Tirumalai hills, came over here at the direction of his guru and built himself an ās'ram to the north of the shrine on the pathway to Pāpanāsanam and Ākās'agaṅga at a distance of about twenty-five minutes walk from the shrine. He kept up a "*dhuni*" (a permanent flame burning uncessingly) in front of his ās'ram. He supplied voluntarily the firewood required for preparing *naivēdyams* for the Lord taking in return a very small quantity of the *prasādam* of the God just to keep himself alive. Thus he spent twelve years doing penance. The Lord disguising himself variously now as Yenadi, now as a Yerukvila, and then as a Chenchu tried to frighten him to test whether he had acquired steadiness of mind of the true path. Hattirāmji was steadfast in his devotion. The great *bhakta* piqued at the Lord not favouring him with his *darśan* despite his hard penance for twelve years was getting down the hill determined to leave the place for good. In the guise of a brāhmin Lord Venkatēs'vara followed him and entreated him to remain on the hills but Bavāji would not hear him. The brāhmin accompanied him trying to urge him to stay till they came down the hill as far as Avvaccarikona. Then the Lord out of mercy to his devotee appeared before him in his divine form with both s'aṅkha and cakra. Bavāji then prostrated himself before Him and firmly caught hold of the Lord's feet, placing his head on the Lord's feet. Though the Lord requested him to

release his hold he continued to pray appealingly that he should be blessed with the sight of His divine form eternally. The Lord blessed him accordingly and offered to unite him with himself after his death. Bavāji then went back to the hill with the Lord and remained there ever afterwards as a great devotee of the Lord. It is said that he often played chess with the Lord.

A certain chief of the Devarāya dynasty seeing Hattirām Bavāji told him that his name Hattirām meant an elephant and asked him to prove that he merited the name. The *bhakta*, Hattirām, met the taunt by placing his faith in the Lord. He offered to prove to the king that he was an elephant. He caused an enclosure to be made to accommodate an elephant and such articles as are consumed by elephants to be placed within. Bavāji entered the enclosure in the night and with the blessings of the Lord assumed the form of an elephant. At midnight he made the same noise as an elephant at its feed and consumed all articles kept in the enclosure to feed the elephant. In proof, of the stay of the animal there was the excreta of the elephant in the enclosure. At the break of the day he came out of the enclosure in his human form. The chief who saw this miracle appealed in great consternation for mercy and forgiveness. He became ever after a great devotee of the saint. He spent many years playing dice with the Lord. The Lord advised him to establish a mutt and train a disciple but he did not do so, saying that he did not want anything beyond the service of the Lord. As the advice was repeated several times, he took it as a command, selected a disciple named Giridhara Doss and built a mutt on the elevated ground to the south-east of the temple. He then reported the fact to the Lord and prayed to him that the hierarchy of disciples who would live in the mutt may be provided with a simple fare consisting of the curry of Sama leaves and *rōtis* (chapathis). The Lord was very much pleased at the establishment of the mutt and blessed that ample food and clothes would be provided to the disciples, so long as bells ring in his temple (i.e. so long as worship endures in his own temple). When the devotee asked for meagre fare the Lord duly blessed him with abundance: such is the love of the Lord to his devotees. One day

when Hattirām Bavāji was doing the *pradakṣiṇam* of the temple, the Lord united the spirit of Bavāji with himself. Bavāji's disciple Giridhara Doss Mahant, according to the custom of his community laid the remains of his guru in the *dhuni* kept by him. Even now, the place is known as the "*Samādhi*" and daily worship is offered there. In virtue of the boon of the Lord the two mutts, the one on the hill and the other in Tirupati, have gradually grown in importance and are in a flourishing condition today. Food and provisions are distributed to all *sādhus* and brāhmins. The miracles worked by the Lord are innumerable and none can adequately describe them. Books containing accounts of Tirumala Nambi and others written four hundred or five hundred years ago are still extant. With the rapid advance of Kaliyuga the Lord has stopped direct conversations with devotees but still gives proof of His presence through dreams and through mediums who are temporarily inspired (*Āves'am*).

Question 32. How many full *naivedyams* (food offerings) are being hitherto made to the God daily? How many villages and lands have been endowed for the purpose or are the charges being met from cash collections?

Answer. This Lord is offered full *naivedyams* sixty times in the course of the day with the attendant *Karpoora haratis* and *Akhanda Dipārādhanās*. Forty two villages in this neighbourhood, in the Tirupati taluk, have been assigned for this purpose. In addition to this, the then kings used to make munificent contributions for special festivals and celebrations. Moreover, every item of worship without any omission is being done with the amounts contributed by the pilgrims coming here. As a statement of the full details of the villages and the gifts made by the kings and pilgrims will swell this account considerably only a brief abstract is furnished. These details are recorded in the inscriptions on the temple walls.

Question 33. This Lord has ceased to talk to persons directly but He communicates through dreams and *āves'ams* (mediums). Again, it is said that the people should not wear the flowers which have been used for decorating the Lord and also

that except the Lord no one while on the hills, should wear flowers and actually this is found in practice now. Are there any reasons for these?

Answer. Long ago, a certain devotee, Rangadass by name, was supplying flowers to the Lord. He detected a lock of hair in them and was hesitating to offer them to the Lord. Then through *āves'am* the Lord directed that from that date no one should wear *tuḷasi* and flowers on the hills, not even those worn by the Lord and thrown away as *nirmālyam* and that the latter should be put into a well situated in the north-east corner of the Sampangi Pradakṣiṇa. Accordingly, flowers and *tuḷasi* are not worn by any one while on the hills and also the *nirmālyam* of the Lord is put into the well which has hence acquired the name *Poola bhāvi* (the well of flowers).

Question 34. There are ever so many shrines in the land. Why do all people look on this Lord with such unique devotion and awe?

Answer. Local people or those belonging to other places when they put their trust on this Lord and pray to him fervently, He unfailingly grants their wishes; besides, when they make vows to him and inadvertently forget them, He immediately reminds them by appearing in their dreams or through *āves'am* and exacts the fulfilment of the vows; If however, in spite of such warnings the vows remain unfulfilled, the person gets some unexpected trouble, which is relieved immediately on the vow being fulfilled and their faith in the Lord is thus reinforced. By such and various other *leelas* (plays) with His devotees He keeps their faith in Him strong and abiding. Such experiences are not had in other shrines. Hence this shrine enjoys pre-eminence in the estimation of the people.

Question 35. What is the reason for paying an amount equal in value to presents made to the Lord such as ornaments, garments, vāhanas, cows, etc.?

Answer. As the Lord is the fulfiller of the desires of all persons, it has been directed by the Lord himself. There is the precedent of King Pratāparudra paying a fee of eighteen lakhs of

mohurs along with his presents of equal value. Recent governments have followed the precedent and levied taxes in order to pay the temple the fees. So great is the sanctity of the shrine that such levies are being paid to this day without question.

Question 36. What are the original sources for the Venkatācala Mahātmyam ?

Answer. It is said in the Upaniṣads that this Lord is the all pervading Viṣṇu present in Vaikuṇṭa, on the earth and everywhere. In the Taittiriyōpaniṣad, in the fifth parva called '*Nārāyaṇam*', it is stated that the Lord shines at the farther end of the water, in the middle of this earthly region, and that He makes the other elements shine through His own light. This is quoted from the commentary of Vidyāraṇya on the said Upaniṣad. In the eighteen purāṇas, including the Mahābhārata, the sanctity of this shrine has been recorded. It is said that the inscriptions on the temple walls also give such details.

Question 37. When and by whom was S'rī Gōvindarājasvāmi installed at Tirupati and who built the temple and compound walls ?

Answer. S'rī Govindarājasvami originally manifested Himself at Chitrakuta (Chidambaram), a place of purāṇic fame. Later on owing to some local disturbances the place was deserted. About five hundred or six hundred years ago, S'rī Rāmānujacārya (the famous advocate of Vaiṣṇavism) brought the idol to Tirupati and installed it in the present place. He also provided the processional images and consecrated them. The kings of the Yādava dynasty, who held sway over this country from S'āka 756 (834 A.D.) constructed the temple, gopurams and prakārams (compound walls). Subsequently, about three hundred years ago, Anantha, a chief of Matla family, built the big entrance gopuram and excavated the two "*Buggas*" (artesian wells or fountains), within and outside the walls of this gopuram. Later, another chief of the same dynasty, Appayarāju and his Dewan, Musalayya Naidu, renovated the old car but after some time the condition of the car deteriorated. The estate of the Matla chief was also annexed by the Company (East India Company).

Question 38. Who installed Kodandarāmasvāmi at Tirupati at first and who built the temple, the towers and the compound walls ?

Answer. The traditional account is that in the sixty-fourth year of this Kaliyuga, King Janamējaya, who was ruling the country, found the temple in ruins and renovated it, building the main shrine, the tower and the compound walls reinstalling the images of the Gods. The kings of the Yādava dynasty who came into power from the S'aka year 756, reconstructed the temple with mantapams, prakāras and gopurams.

Question 39. When and by whom was the Goddess installed at S'ukapuri, otherwise called Chirtanūru or Tirucanūr ?

Answer. Once, the great sage Bhṛgu, intending to test the *Trimūrtis*, went to Vaikunṭa and S'ri Viṣṇu was reclining on his serpent coach with Lakṣmi by his side. Bṛgu kicked at the chest of the Lord with his foot. Viṣṇu got up, showed great humility and expressed regret for the pain caused to the sage by his foot coming into contact with the hard surface of his chest. On the pretext of relieving the pain by massaging the foot He (Lord) put out the eye which the sage possessed in his foot. Goddess Lakṣmi noticing that the Lord was humbling himself and rendering service to a man who had the effrontery to kick at the place of her abode, got enraged and parted from Viṣṇu and hid herself at Kolhāpur. The Lord unable to endure the pangs of separation went in search of her and reached Kolhāpur, which is situated at a distance of about five hundred miles from S'ēs'ācalam. He could not find her there and was in consequence very much distressed. Then, a voice from the sky directed him that five miles to the south of the S'ēs'ācalam (which was to the north of Kolhāpur) there was a village S'uka-puri, on the banks of the Svarṇamukhi river, and that He should go there, excavate a lake with His *Gadāyudha*, obtain and nurse in the lake the lotus creeper of the celestial regions which yields golden lotuses and instal the Sun God to the east of the lake so a to keep the lotuses always in bloom and then engage himself in penance when, the voice declared, Goddess Lakṣmi would appear before Him. Lord Viṣṇu accordingly proceeded to the place, dug

a lake, introduced the divine lotus creeper into it, installed Suryanārāyaṇa on the bank and engaged himself in penance. To the intense joy of the Lord Goddess Lakṣmi appeared before Him in a lotus in the middle of the lake. He then built a shrine for her to the north of the temple where S'rī S'uka had installed Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa for his worship and settled the Goddess in it under the name of Padmāvati. He instituted an annual festival called *Āvabhyatottsavam* on a *Pancami* day, the Lord Himself paying her a State visit in due form from the hills bringing with Him presents of garlands, sarees, blouses, pan, turmeric, *kunkum* and *panniyarams*, (articles priced by married women as auspicious gifts). Since then a *Brahmōtsavam* festival is being conducted annually in the month of *Kārthigai*, the *Dvajarōhaṇam* commencing eight days prior to *Pancami* and ending with *Āvabhridotsavam*. The festival is widely known as the *Cirtānūr Pancami* festival. About two hundred years ago, the Rājahs of Karvetnagar, reconstructed the lake and arranged for some special services. About one hundred years ago, one S'rī Nārāyaṇa Pillai of Madras and a few others constructed stone steps leading to the lake.

Details regarding the origin of the image of the Goddess and other matters connected with the shrine are found in the thirty-fourth chapter of S'rī Padmapurāṇa. By the grace of the Lord Venkatēs'vara since then the temple of the Goddess has been considerably enlarged by the construction of additional mantapams, etc. and the services to her are being performed with ever increasing magnificence and splendour by her own devotees and of Venkatēs'vara.

Question 40. Are there any remarkable features in the Goddess, such as those of Lord Venkatēs'vara? Do pilgrims who visit S'rī Venkatēs'vara on the hills visit this temple also and offer similar kinds of services and gifts?

Answer. By virtue of Divine grace abiding in the Goddess great powers are manifested by Padmāvati also. As evidence of this, it is seen that large crowds of people both men and women, throng to this shrine on Fridays and offer special worship and

taligais (food offerings) in order to obtain their objects. Those who pray for children are blessed with children. Persons possessed by evil spirits and *grahās*, such as *s'ākini* and *dākini* pray for release from them and obtain relief. Those who have lost their sight and even the lame put absolute faith in the Goddess and do *pradakṣi-ṇams* and *namaskārams* to her for some period. They get back their sight and limbs. Her grace shines in proportion to the intensity of the faith and devotion of each worshipper. All pilgrims who visit the hills of the Lord invariably visit the Goddess also and make presents of garments, jewels, *taligais* and also contribute according to their means for special *utsavas* such as *Garudavāha-nam*, (elephant) *gajavāhanam*, etc. Further, people from Tirupati and surrounding localities take vows and visit the shrine on Fridays, bathe in the lake do *pradakṣiṇam* and make offerings of food, lights, clothes and jewels. Several people from various places pay the prescribed fees and arrange for burning daily *akhandams* before the Goddess and for daily performance of *tuḷasi* and *kunkum* arcanās according to the prescribed rites. Therefore there is basis for thinking that great powers abide also in Goddess S'rī Padmāvati.

(*To be concluded.*)

The Secretary requests that—

(1) Every member will kindly introduce at least one friend to the Society during the current year and thus help to popularise the work of the Society.

(2) Members who can afford it will help to build up a capital fund by converting their ordinary membership into life membership.

(3) Members who have not yet remitted their subscriptions will kindly remit them on receipt of this issue of the Journal.

(4) Members will be so good as to send us odd copies of Nos. 1 to 4 of Volumes VIII and IX of the Q.J.M.S. If they so desire, the copies will be paid for at As. 12 each.

SIRUMANA CARITE

BY H. SREENIVASA JOIS.

SIRUMA and his five warrior sons were ruling a petty kingdom of Budihal in the middle of the 15th century A.D. Their exploits have been described in two Kannada works in the *Sāngatya* metre by different poets in simple yet spirited style. "*Sirumana Sāngatya*" by Poet Sidda is noticed in Kavicarite, Part II, page 556. I am now in possession of the other work written by Kavi Rāma, son of Kencha Setty, named "*Sirumana Carite*" which contains 13 cantos and 1065 verses.

An outline of this story is as follows:

1. A chieftain by name Siruma, Golla by caste, was ruling a petty kingdom of Budihal with his queen Chikkamma and five warrior sons by name, Kacha, Kumāra Mallanna, Vīrabhadra, Nambianna and Somayya. The king was a devotee of Someśa of Budihal. He was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom assisted by his able and honest minister Kallarasa. He went on a hunting expedition to a forest in the neighbouring kingdom of Hiriyur where he saw the Daṣaratha Rāmeśa temple. He worshipped the God with devotion and after receiving *Gandha* (*Sandal paste*) and *prasāda*, returned home.

2. King Kasava Naik of Hiriyur was enraged at Siruma's encroachment of his game preserve and he marched against Budihal but was defeated. With the help of his neighbouring kings he then laid siege to Singatagere fort, belonging to Siruma. Kumāra Mallanna defeated the combined armies and captured their horses and cattle and tethered them in a special stall built for the purpose and named it as "Hiriyur Stables". All these defeated kings assembled in a meeting at Hiriyur and resolved to enlist the aid of Sāḷuva Narasinga Rāya of Chandragiri to punish Siruma.

3. King Kasava and Ekkati Ganga went to Chandragiri and prayed to Sāḷuva Narasinga Rāya for help. To a question by Sāḷuva Narasinga Rāya they stated that Siruma and his warrior

sons were defending Budihal with the help of 700 horses and an army of foot. They also promised that all the kings of *Melnādu* (above the Ghats) would become his vassals and pay an annual tribute if Siruma's pride were to be put down. Sāḷuva Narasinga Rāya consented to do so. He gathered all his forces and marched to Hiriyur halting at Bhimavaram, Rangasamudra, Gorantlu, and Penukonde at which last place he reviewed his large army. Prominent commanders who accompanied him in this expedition are Gorantee Thipparāja, Gandikote Tirumala Rāja, Tādapatre Singarāja, Guruva Rāja, Thammarāja, Basava Rāja, Komma Rāja, Koneti Rāja, Thipparāja, Thimmarāja, Veerabāṇa, Bommayya Bolaku Nāga, Veera Morasa and Rāmarāya.

From Penukonda they continued their march to Hiriyur. After passing through the Haravu tank bed the chieftain Obanaik of Midigesi who behaved arrogantly was defeated and his fort was occupied by the army of Sāḷuva Narasinga Rāya. Then they reached Hiriyur where he was honoured by the Karnāṭaka Kings, such as Honnavalli Vedarāja, Keśava Rāja, Rudre Rājayya Channama Rāja and Chetti Rāja.

4. King Govinda of Bāgur was a great friend of Siruma and his fort was first laid siege to by the invaders lest he should help Siruma. Govinda suffered much in the very first attack and sought the help of Siruma. Kachendra the Yuvaraja with a selected band of warriors, entered Bāgur fort, cutting through Sāḷuva Narasinga Rāya's army.

5. Yet, refusing Kacha's advise and succour, Govinda purchased peace from Sāḷuva Narasinga Rāya by paying 7 lakhs of gold pieces. Kacha returned to Budihal, again carving for himself a passage through the army of Sāḷuva Narasinga Rāya who was greatly pleased at the bravery of Kachendra. Then they crossed the Vēdavati and laid siege to Budihal. Kumāra Mallanna killed many brave soldiers in the *Muncina Kāḷaga* (the first engagement with the advance army).

6. Queen Chikkamma brought about the death of several enemy soldiers by offering poisoned puddings while performing the pooja of Goddess Gangamma.

7. In the first Kaggole Kachanna and Kumāra Mallanna killed a great number of Narasinga Rāya's army; Veda Rāja, Keśava Naik, Kesava Rāja and Ekkati Gānga ran from the battle field for their lives. The heroes returned triumphantly laden with booty.

8. Sāḷuva Narasinga Rāya was pleased at the bravery of the heroic sons of Siruma. A days's truce was called. Sāḷuva Narasinga Rāya went round the Budihal fort and was struck by its beauty and impregnability. He wanted to spare this fort as well as its brave defenders. He therefore sent Rudra Rāya brother-in-law of Siruma offering terms which were completely declined by Siruma on the advise of his sons. He declared that he would fight to the finish. In the fight that ensued Nambianna the fourth son of Siruma fell. The other sons of Siruma killed many warriors in the enemy's camp and brought in a large booty.

9. On the same night Uddagiri Kumāra sent words secretly with a trusted servant to Kumāra Mallayya offering to meet him in a single combat. Kumāra Mallayya without intimating it to anybody in his camp came out of the fort and fought with the brave warrior and brought back as trophy Uddagiri Kumāra's head and his horse.

10. Next day virulent fighting took place. Viswa Rāja a trusted hero of Sāḷuva Narasinga Rāya, was killed while attempting to scale the fort walls. His wives who accompanied him to the battle field performed *Sati*. Veerabhadra the third son of Siruma died of a wound caused by a gunshot.

11. Six months passed and the victory was as far away as at the start. Narasinga Rāya became desperate had an underground passage to the town cut. Luckily for the defenders Siruma's brother-in-law Rudra Rāya conveyed the secret to him on the night prior to the date fixed for the entry of the fortress just in time for Siruma to have a counter passage prepared. When the enemy were attempting to enter the passage it was set fire and 12,000 invaders perished.

12. In the next battle Yuvarāja Kacha slaughtered 700 soldiers before he died. Malla Naik brother or Siruma was also killed in the battle. Bhira Naik a trusted supporter of Siruma being

his wife's brother jumped from the fort and fled to the opposite side. He advised Narasinga Rāya to assault the fortress the very next day alone as Kacha and Malla Naik were dead, to which Narasinga Rāya assented. Kumāra Mallayya wanted to kill the ladies and children so that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. His youngest brother Somayya and his younger sisters were spared at the request of the parents and were entrusted to the care of a Yogi with a large sum of money and to instal Somayya on the Gadi after he came of age. Kumāra Mallayya fought like lion and died in the battle field after the *Johar* was over.

Kumāra Mallayya's head was out off and was shown to Sāḷuva Narasinga Rāya who at the request of the Budihal subjects sent it in procession placed in a decorated palanquin. Then it was burnt. He was deified and a temple was built for him which exists even today. Sāḷuva Narasinga Rāya entered the fort triumphantly. He then went to Huliyar and thence to Penugonda where he dispersed the commanders after honouring them suitably.

Somayya after attaining majority occupied the throne of Budihal and rebuilt it with the aid of money hidden for the purpose and ruled the kingdom happily.

Budihal is a village in the Hosdurga Taluk of Chitaldrug District, Mysore State, situated in 13.37 Lat. and 76.25 E. Long, 19 miles south-east of Hosadurga town. It is now named as Sreeramapura. Hiriyur is on the right bank of Vēdavati at the bifurcation of the Bangalore High road to Bellary and to Chitaldrug. It is the headquarters of the Hiriyur Taluk. It was founded by a chief from Mayasamudra named Keśava Naik. Bāgur is a village in Hosadurga Taluk. It was then the chief town of that quarter.

Sāḷuva Narasinga Rāya: He was born as the gift son of his parents Gunda IV and Mallamambika. Gunda is said to have retired to the forests after installing his son in his own chieftainship. He was in charge of parts of North-Arcot and Kolar Districts and Chandragiri fort which is about 7 miles from Tirupati was his capital. He soon grew into power owing to the weakness

of the Central Government. He rose from the position of chieftain (Mahārāja) to that of an Emperor. Nuniz says that he ruled for a period of 44 years. His period of rule may be counted as 1453-1497. A. D.

Among the generals and administrators who served under Sāḷuva Narasinga Rāya, the following may be mentioned :

Cittiganganna, Āravēti Bukka Īśvara, Narasa, Nāganna Naik, Āravēti Bukka's sons and grandsons.

Cittiganganna may be identified as Ekkati Ganga of this poem. In the Varahapurāṇam the conquest of Bāgur is mentioned. It is there stated that Daḷavai Īs'vara was responsible for the conquest of Bāgur. Probably Īs'vara died some time between 1478 and 1479 A.D. It is to be presumed that the conquest of Bāgur took place some time between 1464-1479.

Āravīdu Bukka and his progeny :—In the "*Rāmarājīyamu*" Āravīdu Bukka is described as *Sāḷuva Narasimha Rājya Pratistapanacārya*, i.e. the firm establisher of the kingdom of Sāḷuva Narasinga Rāya. Among the warriors that accompanied Sāḷuva Narasinga Rāya there seems to be some persons related to this Āravēti Bukka.

Bukka married two wives and by the former he had several sons of whom Singa was the eldest who subsequenely became the chief of Nandyal. Tādapatri Singarāja of this poem may be identified as this Singarāja, as Tādaptri was within the jurisdiction of these chiefs. By Balladevi, the second wife, Bukka had a son named Rāma Rāja I. Rāma Rāja of this poem may be identified with Rāma Rāja I of the genealogy noted below. Rāma Rāja I is credited with many great feats of which three appear to be of outstanding merit, according to the copper plate grants and the *Rāmarājīyamu* ; of which the first is, that he is stated to have taken the fortress of Adoni despite the fact that it was defended by a garrison of 70,000 horse and army of foot by one Kasappodeya who is said to have vied with Indra in power. The verse describing

this fact is mentioned in copper plates (Shimoga 83, Tumkur 1 and Chikkanaikanahalli 39) The verse runs as follows :—

ಸಹಸ್ರೈಸ್ಸಪ್ತತ್ಯಾಸಹಿತಮಪಿಯಃಸಿಂದ್ಧುಜನಿನಾಂ
ಸಪಾದಸ್ಯಾನೀಕಂಸಮಿತಿಭುಜಶೌರ್ಯೇಣಮಹತಾ |
ವಿಜಿತ್ಯಾದತ್ತೇಸ್ಮಾದವನಿಗಿರಿದುರ್ಗಂವಿಭುತಯಾ
ವಿಧೂತೇಂದ್ರಃಕಾಸಪ್ಪುಡೆಯಮಪಿವಿದ್ರಾವ್ಯಸಹಸಾ ||

In the light of the *Sirumana Carite* by slightly modifying the verse it may be translated as follows :—

Rāma Rāja by the might of his arm captured Vībhūtipuradurga despite the fact that it was defended by a garrison of 700 horse and an army of foot by one Kasappodeya who vied with Indra in power. Vībhūtipura is a sanscritised name of Budihal. Kasappodeya is another name of Kacha of *Bala-bhāgavatamu.*

If my interpretation is correct identification of some more warriors becomes definite.

Thus Sirumana Carite is a valuable source to unearth the several stages in the early career of Sāḷuva Narasinga Rāya.

BUKKA'S GENEALOGY

Āravēti Bukka
(General of Sāḷuva Naraśimha)

- by Abbala Devi
  - Singarāja
    - Nandyal Narasinga
- by Ballamambika
  - Rāma Rāja I
    - Thimmarāja
    - Peddakondarāja
      - Koneti Rāja
    - S'rī Ranga

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY, BANGALORE.

Sunday, the 18th of May 1947.

DIWAN BAHADUR DR. SIR A. RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR,
K.C.S.I., D.C.L.
(DEWAN OF MYSORE)

in the Chair.

THE Thirty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society was held on Sunday, the 18th of May 1947 at 6 P.M. with Diwan Bahadur Dr. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, K.C.S.I., D.C.L., Dewan of Mysore, in the Chair.

In welcoming the distinguished Chairman, the President of the Society, Rajadharmaprasakta T. Singaravelu Mudaliar, said:

"DEWAN SAHEB,

"As President of the Mythic Society, it is my privilege to offer you a hearty welcome to our Society. Your life has been unique not only in the various experiences you have had but also in the remarkable services you have rendered to the public at large. After graduating from the Madras Christian College, and the Law College, Madras, you were a member of the Madras Bar for some time. The profession was not wide enough for you nor was mere pecuniary advantage your ambition. Therefore you did not continue long in it but took to wider activities to serve the public. To mention a few among them—Member of the Legislative Council, Madras, and then Council Secretary in the Reformed Council in Madras. You were also the Honorary Editor of the newspaper 'Justice.' You served the Madras Corporation as Mayor of Madras, having been elected twice thereto.

"Your talents attracted the attention of men in position and your services were required for wider fields of activities as Member of the Council of State and as Member of the Three Round Table Conferences from 1930-32. I can speak with personal knowledge of your contributions to the Round Table Conferences, for I have had an opportunity of being present at the Conferences and was personally aware of the acknowledgments which the President, Lord Sankey, then Lord Chancellor, made

about your valuable contributions to the Conferences. Later, your services were requisitioned for global work. You have also taken part in the various international bodies, such as the League of Nations and in the Commonwealth Relations Conference, the Imperial Economic Committee and the Nine-Power Conference of 1937. You were also a Member of the Government of India from 1937. You were deputed to the San Francisco Conference in 1945 and have had the coveted distinction of being appointed as President of the Economic Conference of the U.N.O. (United Nations Organisation) in 1946 and re-elected as President of that Conference. And you have been appointed by our gracious Sovereign as Dewan of the Mysore State.

"In the various capacities in which you have served the public, it has been enriched by your splendid oratory, able administration, successful journalism and eminent statesmanship.

"Mysore has been in the van of modern and progressive constitutions in the world and has long been a model for other Indian States. It is common knowledge that there are various elements in our country, all alive to their rights to take part in the governance of the State. Mysore has had the benefit of beneficent rule. The Rulers have been alive to the legitimate aspirations of the people and have been giving them a considerable share in the administration.

"His Highness the Mahārāja, our beloved Sovereign, has placed in your able hands the task of preparing a constitution for Mysore in an All-India setting. We confidently look forward, in the constitution which will be finally evolved, to a governance of the State in which due and appropriate recognition of the needs and requirements of the people will be happily blended with the time-honoured traditions and attributes of a Sovereign embodied in our beloved Ruler, the Mahārāja of Mysore.*

"Now, coming to our Society, the Mythic Society is devoted to antiquarian research and cultural studies. Looking back into the activities of the past, India has had a glorious past. Her

* 'Responsible Government' has since been entrusted to the people of Mysore with a Popular Cabinet at the head and a Constituent Assembly to draft the constitution.

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records have not been preserved in manuscripts to visualise the varied achievements of our great ancestors. We have to get a glimpse thereof by a study of her history, mythology, archæology, architecture, sculpture, painting, fine arts, ethnology, numismatics and allied sciences comprised in the generic term of Indology.

"This study is the most absorbing of all human studies—the study of man himself. It discloses that there is a gradual revealing of the Soul of a human being, that spark of the Divine Spirit in man gradually evolving itself into enlightened humanity. Through all the achievements of the past runs a golden thread of unity: the one pointed out by Lord S'rī Kṛṣṇa in the Bhagavad Gīta: 'I am the thread that runs through these various ideas, each one of which is like a pearl.' The evolution of the soul in the past would indicate the trend towards which we would be developing ourselves into the future.

"We are, indeed, thankful to you, Sir, for having accepted the Vice-Presidentship of this Society and thus helped to contribute towards its activities with your brilliant capacities and equipment.

"I now request you, Sir, to preside over the deliberations of this Meeting."

Mr S. Srikantaya the General Secretary and Treasurer, then presented the Annual Report for 1945-46:

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1945-46

The Committee of the Mythic Society have great pleasure to present you this evening a report of the Society's activities during the year 1945-46.

We respectfully felicitate our Patron, His Highness Sir Sri Jaya Chāmarāja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.B. on the distinction of the Grand Cross of the Bath graciously bestowed on him by His Majesty the King-Emperor.

We rejoice with the rest of the people of Mysore at the birth of a daughter to our Patron, His Highness Sir Sri Jaya Chāmarāja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.B. and pray Almighty may be pleased to shower His choicest blessings on the Princess Gāyatri Devi and her parents.

Membership: The second World-war with its aftermath has affected the strength of our membership. We trust that it will be possible for us to augment our membership and to retain old members. We appeal to members to introduce new members to the Society to assist us in carrying on our work more satisfactorily. Members who can afford are requested kindly to contribute to the capital fund by converting their ordinary membership into life membership and also by making donations.

We deeply regret to record the death of the following: Rajacharithavisarada Rao Bahadur C. Hayavadana Rao, Editor, Journalist and author of the revised edition of the Mysore Gazetteer, Rajasevasakta Professor B. M. Srikantia, a devoted student of Kannada and associated with Kannada Sāhitya Pariṣad, Rajasevasakta Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, one of the founders of the Mythic Society, a brilliant historian and scholar, Mr. F. Foulkes of Salem, the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastry, the silver-tounged orator and statesman and ambassador; Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, the great constitutional lawyer and publicist; Pandit Madana Mohan Malaviya, an embodiment of Hindu Culture and founder of the Benares Hindu University; Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the retired Director-General of Archæology in India; and Mr. A. L. Puttaiya of Bangalore: and we tender our heart-felt condolences to the bereaved members of their families.

Finance: The total receipts of the Society during the year including an opening balance of Rs. 16-15-3 were Rs. 5,714-3-7. The total expenditure was Rs. 4,912-5-9 as against Rs. 4,058-5-3 in the previous year. A sum of Rupees Five Hundred has been added to the Reserve Fund which now stands at Rs. 13,250-0-0. Bills to the extent of about Rs. 500 were still outstanding at the end of the year and have since been realised. The amount in the Staff Provident Fund showing a Closing Balance of Rs. 164-2-0 is deposited in the Savings Bank in the State Huzur Treasury, Account No. 19384.

Our thanks are due to Mr. T. M. S. Subramaniam, Government Certified Auditor, who continues kindly to audit the accounts of the Society in an Honorary Capacity for over twenty years.

We are grateful to the Government of His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore for renewing the temporary grant of Rs. 150 per month during the years 1946-47 and 1947-48. We hope and pray that this temporary grant of Rs. 150 a month will be augmented to at least Rs. 250 a month* on a permanent basis as we have been praying for over two decades, to enable us to accomplish much more than what we have been able to do.

We appeal to public philanthropy in support of our activities which are greatly appreciated all over the world. Funds are required for getting a large number of books and periodicals bound, to purchase recent publications, to provide a suitable structure for the ever-growing library and to bring the catalogue of the library up-to-date.

Reading Room: The number of visitors to the free reading room attached to the Society continues to be steady as usual. Daily and weekly papers are placed on the table. Important periodicals are bound and made available to the visitors also who make good use of them. The subscriptions for the papers paid during the year amounted to Rs. 178-2-0.

Library: The Library of the Society possesses many rare and valuable books on subjects in which we are interested. Scholars from all parts of India and outside come to the Society for study and research. The acquisition of valuable periodicals and reports of archæological and epigraphical departments continues. We appeal to all those interested in our work to present books and periodicals dealing with antiquarian research to this library. We are obliged to the Government of India, the several Provincial Governments in India, the Governments of Mysore, Baroda, Hyderabad, Travancore, Cochin and Jaipur; the Universities of Mysore, Madras, Calcutta, Dacca, Benares, Allahabad, Annamalai and Travancore; and to various authors,

*We are glad to inform our members that after the report was drafted and approved the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore have been graciously pleased to enhance the temporary grant to Rs. 250 per month with effect from 1st January 1947. We pray that this grant will be made permanent. We are highly grateful to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and to the distinguished Chairman of the Meeting for this generous act.

editors, and publishers for their kind patronage and for sending their publications for accession to the library and for review in our Quarterly. The total cost of books received during the year and added to the library amounts to more than Rs. 200-0-0.

Journal: The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society maintains the high standard set for it by its promoters. The October 1945 issue and the January 1946 and the April 1946 issues were published during 1945-1946 and the July 1946 issue was since published. The October 1946 issue is in the press and is expected to be published in a few days.

Owing to a relaxation of the rules in the Paper Control (Economy) Order, we are glad to inform our subscribers and readers, that the subsequent issues of the Journal will contain eighty pages, instead of the sixty four pages which we were publishing so far.

Exchanges: Amongst our exchanges are included most of the important periodicals of the world. The list is being revised from time to time. The nominal value of periodicals received in exchange amounts to over Rs. 300-0-0.

Daly Memorial Hall: The Daly Memorial Hall and the premises continue to be maintained in good condition. The Hall is in constant demand and the several departments of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, and the Adult Literacy Council were among the many that held their meetings in the Daly Memorial Hall. The Hall is being used by Government, Quasi-Government and public institutions and by private parties.

The Hall was placed at the disposal of the Election Commissioner in Mysore from 10-8-1945 to 28-2-1946 as desired by the Government of His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore for conducting his Court. The Government sanctioned a rent of Rs. 150 per month during the period the Election Commissioner held his Court in the Daly Memorial Hall. We desire to record our sense of gratitude to the Government for the rent sanctioned above.

General: We desire to congratulate Lt. Col. P. Gaisford, Rajasevasakta S. Venkatesaiya, Diwan Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari, Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar and Sir T. Thumboo Chetty on the respective distinctions and titles bestowed on them.

The work of the Society is very much appreciated as one of the culture centres in India and its journal has a wide circulation.

We beg to express our deep debt of gratitude to His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore, the Government of His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore, the Government of India and to the Honourable the Resident in Mysore, for their continued sympathy and support.

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Adoption of the Report :

Rajadharmaprasakta T. Singaravelu Mudaliar proposed that the Annual Report presented by the General Secretary & Treasurer, be adopted. On being seconded by Rajasevaprasakta R. N. Mirza, the report was put to vote and adopted.

Election of President.

Rao Bahadur Lokasevasakta B. K. Garudachar proposed Rajadharmaprasakta T. Singaravelu Mudaliar be elected President for the year 1946-47. Seconded by Mr. J. Rudrappa, the proposition was put to vote and Rajadharmaprasakta T. Singaravelu Mudaliar was unanimously elected President for the year 1946-47.

Election of Office-bearers.

Proposed by Rajasevasakta P. Subbarama Chetty and seconded by Mr. Syed Ghouse Mohiyuddin the following Office-bearers were elected for 1946-47.

Vice-Presidents :

Diwan Bahadur DR. SIR A. RAMASWMI MUDALIAR, K.C.S.I., D.C.L.

Pradhanasiromani N. MADHAVA RAU, C.I.E.

Rajasabhabhushna Diwan Bahadur K. R. SREENIVASA IYENGAR, M.A.

Rajamantrapravina A. V. RAMANATHAN, B.A.

General Secretary & Treasurer

S. Srikantaya, B.A., B.L.

Editor

S. Srikantaya, B.A., B.L.

Branch Secretaries:

Anthropology:- Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.).
History:—Rev. Fr. C. Browne, M.A.

Committee:

the above *ex-officio* and Messrs.

J. R. Issac, B.A., M.B.E.
Rajasevaprasakta A. N. Raghavachar, M.A.
Dr. K. N. V. Sastri, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S.
Capt. Rao Bahadur A. Tangavelu Mudaliar
V. T. Tirunarayana Iyengar, M.A.

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CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH

Diwan Bahadur Dr. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, the distinguished guest of the evening, rising amidst acclamation addressed the Meeting and said:

"Mr. President and Members of the Mythic Society,

"I do not propose to make any long speech particularly as I do not feel I am qualified to address a cultured and intellectual audience like this. I have been at some pains to go through the proceedings of the previous meetings and found that the Chairmen were gentlemen who had distinguished themselves in the study of antiquities and who had taken part in research and had disclosed great learning on the subjects dealt with by them. I have no claims to any knowledge on such subjects but it is merely as a layman, as one who has only got a general knowledge of the glories which can be unearthed from our land in culture, in architecture, in anthropology and in various other things that I have accepted this honour. The Mythic Society of Mysore is not altogether a stranger to me. The fame of this Society has spread far and wide in India and abroad in several other parts of the world also. Living in close relationship with Mysore in the neighbouring province of Madras, it is only natural that I should have heard something about the activities of the Society and of the activities of its distinguished members. Tributes have been paid year after year to the president-founder of

your Society who brought so much glory by his personal attention given to the activities and work of the Society. Therefore it is quite unnecessary for me to refer to his great work. There are members of the Society who have distinguished themselves similarly. There are many researches conducted by the members of your society which have added lustre to the archæics of this country. When I was in the Government of India, I have had the opportunity of visiting the great excavations of Harappa, Mohenjo-daro, Taxila and other places and I have been very much impressed by the stage of civilisation that was reached in this country five thousand years ago, by the adroit way in which, even at that time, various scientific methods were used. There is every reason why your Society should take interest not only in archæology but also devote itself to the study of and fostering the development of culture. Need I say how important it is that research in our variegated cultures should be more systematically conducted, particutarly because of their highest practical importance today. If only we could understand and thereby appreciate the cultures of the different communities that live in this country, if only we could come to know each other better through a study of these cultures, I am sure the solution of the problems of this country would be more simple than it is at present. It is the greatest remover of all barriers for a perfect understanding. How few of us know really something of the cultures of each other? We take a great deal of pride in our culture, but our pride will be the greater and our knowledge all the more profound, if we were to understand the culture of those who differ from us. By culture is not meant those little artificial attractions which from the outside may present a very pleasing aspect to the eye. Culture is something very much more profound and deep.

"Your Secretary was pleased to refer to the increased Government Grant that has just been sanctioned. I am glad that that grant was sanctioned before I took the Chair this evening. (Laughter). I found year after year you were putting forward this request, that the grant may be incrcased to Rs. 250 permanently. My colleagues took the view that they would be remedying the long-felt need of the Society and so it is that the Government

of Mysore has increased the grant to Rs. 250 per mensem with effect from 1st January 1947. There seems to be some doubt entertained whether it is a permanent grant. It will be a recurring grant, sanctioned year after year. I do not think that it is a permanent grant. To speak of the permanence of the grant is beyond my capacity and beyond the capacity of the Government of Mysore. The grant has been given by Government because of its appreciation of the work of this Society for 35 years or more. After coming into existence in the year 1909, it will complete its 40th year very shortly and that itself is a great testimony for any organization. I venture to hope by this testimony and appreciation the Government have shown to the activities of the Society, your membership will increase and that your activities will also develop. In a society like this heads will not count and therefore I am not advocating merely large increase in the number of members. I think those who are in a position to contribute will join the Society and increase its activities. I am aware, Sir, in these difficult days it is hardly possible for anybody to spare much time for work which is so interesting, but this can be taken by enthusiastic men. But you will forgive me if I give my own experience. It is always easy for a man to find time especially if he is hard-worked. The man who works continuously can find time, but a person who works occasionally will never find time at all. Remember I am referring to a set of intellectuals whose main occupation is intellectual work, who feel lost if they were not doing anything. I know there are officials who have retired and who feel completely lost because they have not got that work to which they were accustomed day after day. I know people whose physical stamina crumbles down when their work ceases and when they cannot keep their mind active. But this is not so the case in European countries, particularly when people are asked to develop hobbies which can keep them employed when normal work ceases. I can think of nothing better for one who has lived an active intellectual life than to take to this sort of study when one's official career comes to an end, which after an active life will be a sort of relaxation and a welcome change.

"I trust that I am not putting any fanciful ideas before you, if

I suggest that the scope of your activities may expand a little more and that they need not interfere with your normal activities which you have carried on in the first four decades of your existence. Investigations are not necessarily in the field of antiquities only, but investigations and researches are required in the present day-to-day problembs of the community, and the Society may well keep in touch and conduct research in these also. Today we are in the grip of many problems facing us. We want free thinking people who will work without any bias whatsoever and we want their examination of the problems. Controversial matters of any kind—there are a great many questions which require thoughtful examination, problems of world controversy—do require a cold logical examination and solution. I think the Mythic Society will do a great service to the public if it takes on itself the task of finding solutions of such problems. I am not giving you this without a precedent. For example, there is a Society working in England. There is a Council called Royal Society of International Affairs. It is expected to study all international problems. It has been given the Charter by the King and so it is called a Royal Society. These problems are examined by the members of the Society. There is a study circle formed. There will be groups of persons who will supervise the work of these members and ultimately the group will bring their suggestions in the form of a pamphlet or an article in the journal of the Society.

"Similarly, I suggest, in addition to your researches into the ancient past you may take to a research of the problems which are of immediate concern to present-day life and the utility of this Society may thereby be greatly enhanced. By so doing the Society will not only be keeping up its tradition but its future will be more glorious than the past. If only we tackle these problems with no motivation of a particular kind behind it, but purely as an intellectual pursuit, I feel certain that the results will be worth the trouble and be of great benefit to our Society.

"Mr. President, I thank you and the members for the honour you have done me in electing me as the Vice-President and I

assure you that any small contribution I can contribute, I will only be too glad to do."

* * * *

Reverend Father C. Browne in proposing a vote of thanks expressed the gratitude of the members of the Mythic Society to the distinguished Chairman who amidst his multifarious activities and duties should have found it convenient to preside over the meeting and conduct the proceedings of the day and felt sure that under the capable guidance of Dr. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar as a Vice-President the Society would make a remarkable progress. He also recalled to the audience the able guidance which the Society continues to have under the Presidentship of Rajadharma-prasakta T. Singaravelu Mudaliar and wished that he would long continue to guide the Society as its President. Speaking of Mr. S. Srikantaya, the General Secretary and Treasurer, Rev. Fr. Browne remarked that he was the stone and pillar of the Society who had worked for its cause for the past thirty years and wished that he would work for another thirty years.

* * * *

With Three Cheers to His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore, Our Patron, the meeting terminated.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE

OF

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

FOR

THE YEAR ENDING 30TH JUNE 1946

Receipts				Amount Rs.	A.	P.
1. Subscriptions:—						
Resident Members	...	...	...	214	0	0
Mofussil Members	...	...	...	315	12	0
Life Members ...	...	...	...	50	0	0
2. Government Grants:—						
Government of Mysore :						
Maintenance Grant	...	...	...	550	0	0
Grant to Society	...	...	...	1,650	0	0
Library Grant ...	...	...	...	300	0	0
Government of India	...	...	...	300	0	0
3. Provident Fund Contribution from Staff			...	55	4	0
4. Interest and Dividend	...	...	...	528	12	0
5. Recovery from Staff	...	...	...	119	0	0
6. Sales	...	...	...	61	9	0
7. Rent and Hall charges	...	...	...	1,138	6	0
8. Fixed Deposits Matured and Realised		...	...	200	0	0
9. Advertisements ...	...	...	...	120	0	0
10. Miscellaneous ..	...	...	...	94	9	4
		Total	...	5,697	4	4
	Opening Balance on 1-7-1945		...	16	15	3
		Grand Total	...	5,714	3	7

Reserve Fund (at Face Value) :—		Rs.	A.	P.
Government of Mysore 5 per cent Stock	...	1,500	0	0
" " 4 per cent Stock	...	9,800	0	0
Debentures of the Mysore Central Co-operative Land Mortgage Bank, Ltd.	...	500	0	0
National Savings Certificates	...	700	0	0
Five Years' Savings Certificates of Mysore Government		199	13	0
Fixed Deposit in the Bank of Mysore, Ltd.	...	300	0	0
Two Shares in the Bank of Mysore, Ltd. ...	...	200	0	0
Deposit in State Huzur Treasury Savings Bank.	...	50	3	0
Total	...	13,250	0	0

Bangalore

1st November 1946.

Expenditure	Amount Rs.	A.	P.
1. Establishment :—			
Pay to S taff	1,184	0	0
Electric Charges	87	3	0
Water Charges	1	8	0
Cycle Account	34	4	0
Livery to servants	73	4	0
Premises	90	0	0
Garden	25	0	0
Provident Fund Account	115	5	0
Electric Accessories	53	14	0
2. Journal :—			
Paper and Printing	706	14	9
Stamps	586	6	9
3. Library :—			
Books purchased	10	0	0
Book binding	285	8	0
Subscriptions to papers and journals	178	2	0
4. Investments	700	0	0
5. Stationery	172	14	3
6. Advance to Staff	190	0	0
7. Bank charges	25	12	0
8. Miscellaneous	392	6	0
Total ...	4,912	5	9
Overdraft on 1-7-1945	756	15	1
	5,669	4	10
Closing Balance c/o ...	44	14	9
GRAND TOTAL ...	5,714	3	7

Certified correct,

(Sd.) T. M. S. SUBRAMANIAM,
Hony. Auditor.

(Sd.) S. SRIKANTAYA
General Secretary & Treasurer

REVIEWS

Ancient India Nos. 1 and 2. January and July 1946. **Bulletin of the Archæological Survey of India.** Price Rs. 2 or 3 Shillings each.

THIS new series is partly 'the outcome of war conditions, which stopped the printing of annual reports and monographs' but also 'an experiment in a new and timely form of publicity 'and 'an attempt to put archæology regularly on to the bookstalls" under a plan to have articles of general interest with technical articles 'of interest primarily to the professed archæologist.'

'Notes on the Preservation of Antiquities in the Field" by Khan Bahadur Mohd. Sana Ullah, retired Archæological chemist and "Archæological Photography" by Squadron-leader, M.B. Cookson, R.A.F. who has had many years' experience as a photographer to archæological expeditions and as an instructor in archæological photography, are technical articles instructive and teeming with helpful suggestions. The Director General's address to the Indian Science Congress held at Bangalore in January 1946 on "Archæological Planning for India" emphasises unduly, in our opinion, one aspect of archæological work, namely, hunt for and study of, pre-historic antiquities and the study of archæology as a hand-maid of anthropology and is coloured by the prepossessions of the author and his specialised knowledge. This accounts for such sentences as "Indian humanistic science has been relegated largely to the future," "in India archæology and anthropology have admittedly all too little behind them." As he is himself aware, both are hand-maids to History and it is this last that records the activities of the faculty of man, "which exalts him above the other animals." The address is in other respects very useful and illuminating and it is to be hoped that it will mobilise the enthusiasm of 'natural science' workers in the elucidation of the problems of archæology and anthropology.

The article on the repairs to the Tāj Mahal in the first issue is of interest, though it gives no new information. The charming photograph of the Tāj, flood-lit on V.E. day 1945 by the U.S.A. troops will be a fitting permanent reminder of Agra's hospitality to them during the war. The second issue is enriched by the photograph of "Mahādeva" of the Elephanta Cave Temple taken by Dr. Stella Kramrisch and Mr. Neogy. Dr. Kramrisch's interpretation of the sculpture in the light of Viṣṇudharmōttara, of which the author is a translator and exponent, is instructive and very suggestive, though not wholly convincing. The other articles deal mainly with excavations and prehistoric and other antiquities secured at Taxila, Ahichchatra, Ādilābād, and Arikamedu, and two general articles one by Mr. Stuart Piggot on "The Chronology of Prehistoric North-West India" and another by Mr. K. R. Srinivasan on "Megalithic Burials and Urn-fields of South India in the Light of Tamil Literature and Tradition." Of the general articles, the first is a very instructive and masterly study. We shall deal with it again later. The second one appears, however, to yield little new light. The primary task in this field of the Officer who, we are glad to learn, has been 'appointed for the specific study of dealing with the prehistoric monuments in India,' would more profitably be the preparation of a comprehensive monograph collecting and collating with illustrations all the data now scattered over several journals and catalogues of the museums.

Of the excavations, that at Ādilābād, a part of the 'fourth' Delhi constructed by the Tughlaqs, was the beginning "made to map and explore" the successive cities of Delhi. It has been well done as is evident from the text, plans and photographs. The map from the air is specially attractive. About the cultural value of the results achieved, opinions may be divided. It is stated that "One of the objects of the excavations of this closely dated site (C.A.D. 1325) was to determine the pottery of the period and so to assist in the dating of other mediæval sites." We are repeatedly reminded in these volumes that pottery-sequence is the alphabet of archæology. But one does not look to the learning of the alphabet when he has reached the stage of familiarity with

literature; nor need one set about looking for chronology through pottery in periods when epigraphical, literary and similar contemporary evidence is already available in abundance. Preferably such excavations and explorations for pottery should be restricted to sites whose date is not known and the culture of the area or era is not discernible from epigraphical, sculptural or undisputed contemporary literature.

The studies of Taxila, Ahichchatra and Arikamedu are eminently of this kind. A comparative study of these three gives an excellent idea of the 'synthesis of sciences' adumbrated in the Director General's planning and a pleasant foretaste of what "the centralised school of archæology of a highly specialised kind hoped" for by him could achieve. The Taxila (Bhir Mound) finds include bent-bar silver coins (56 in all). They bear on the obverse impresses at each end of the symbol (a circular design in relief composed of six tridents radiating from a central ring, with a pellet to one side and a straight line, extending from the central ring to the outer edge). Several coins bear also counter marks of various designs between the two impresses of the symbol. The bent-bar copper coins and about twenty round or square coins, several gold beads, (*amla* in shape), zigzag beads, pendants, bosses and terminals were also among them. Silver bell-shaped pendants, tubular space beads and finger rings, agate, amethyst, green jasper and a rock-chrystal bead complete the list. The gems are specially interesting containing as they do (1) a lion tearing a deer and (2) stag galloping in beautiful realistic pose and revealing a high degree of skill. Most of the finds are of the fourth century B.C.

Ahichchatra, the anicent capital of North Pāñchāla was more or less in continuous occupation till A. D. 1100. The excavations have yielded nine strata of occupation. The earliest, "Stratum IX was not represented by any structural remains but by two pits cut into the natural soil." "Strata VIII and VII contained the the remains of *Kuccha* houses but were rich in finds." Strata VI and above showed brick-built structures. "The strata have been dated mainly on the basis of the latest coins found in each."

The Superintendent of Excavations, Mr. A. Ghosh, has written the historical introduction while Mr. K. C. Panigrahi has made a noteworthy of study of the pottery and tabulated the main results of pottery-sequence and classification as a basis for comparative study with finds in other parts of India. Mr. Ghosh's study yields the following dates :—Stratum IX—Before 300 B.C. VIII—B.C. 300 to 200 B.C.; VII. 200 to 100 B.C.; VI & V B. C. 100 to A.D. 100 ; IV. 100 to 350 A.D.; III. 350 to 750 A.D.; II. 750 to 850 A. D. and Stratum I. 850 to 1100 A. D. Mr. K. C. Panigrahi's classification yields the following results :—Stratum IX. Five types of undecorated light grey and red wares, being bowl, lid or dish. Stratum VIII, eleven types of heavy grey ware, and light red ware with improved technique in neck and shoulder formations, provision of spout, lips, rim, loop handle, and decorations stamped (being four conjoined taurines with a central prong which occurs also on grey terra-cotta animal figurines from the same stratum). Stratum VII, four types of grey bowl or dish, jar and pot stand and decorations of semi-circular pendants with hatchings, and close combing. Stratum VI & V, seven types of cooking pans, jars, bowl-shaped stoppers, bellied jars with a small bottle neck; and rough decorations of close combed bonds. Stratum IV, nineteen types including a jar, ovoid in shape, with two detached ribbings (type 37) and similar jars with stamped designs of *mandipadas* alternating with rosettes (type 40) and "a curious vessel (type 44) which has loop handles on its grooved rim and a solid knob and hollow cup inside." Decorations are more diversified from this stratum upwards. The higher strata show a larger variety of designs. Type 60 of Stratum II has also a conch with rosette as decoration.

The appendix on "Northern Black Polished Ware" by Mr. Krishna Deva and the Director General with a map of Northern India showing its distribution and the other on the Painted Grey Ware help to complete the picture of this yard stick in the debated fields of chronology.

The principal interest in the second number is in the comprehensive monograph "Arikamedu. An Indo-Roman Trading Station on the East Coast of India." This monograph comprises 108 out of

the 137 pages of the book. It is written by the Director General of Archæology with contributions on the Southern Sector by Mr. A. Ghosh and on local pottery and other finds by Mr. Krishna Deva. The inscriptional material is reported upon by the Government Epigraphist Dr. B. C. Chhabra and his predecessor and collaborators. The value of the monograph is enhanced by useful maps showing the finds of Roman Coins and of semi-precious stones elsewhere in India. The plans of the sites and excavations, the detailed list and description of the pottery, arretine and local, imported amphoral, the beads, terra-cotta objects, ivory and wooden objects and ropes, and illustrative figures and plates are very helpful for comparative study. The Mysore monograph on Chandravalli and Brahmagiri finds will furnish material for comparative study. Similar detailed monographs on Amarāvati and the finds at Bairat in Jaipur State will be of great help. Coming soon after the article on 'Pottery of Ahichchatra' in the previous number of Ancient India, this monograph is of more value.

Arikamedu is near Pondicherry. This monograph is based on material collected by local French antiquaries and by the Archæological Survey of India by intensive excavation in the months of April, May and June 1945. The interpretation of the data may be briefly indicated as follows :—

"At Arikamedu we are concerned primarily with the highest category of metropolitan sigilatta.........named 'Arretine.' This Arretine sigilatta originated at an undetermined date probably in the first century B. C.............It was driven from the western market by A. D. 50............In the absence of alternative evidence, however, we must assume the general validity of the results of detailed study in western Europe and must suppose that no Arretine pottery reached India after A. D. 50............I have proposed A. D. 20—50 as the inclusive period for the Arretine pottery at Arikamedu............There were still eight feet of accumulation (in lower levels) the pottery from which did not include Arretine." The potter's stamps on Arretine ware noticed are "VIBII", "CAMVRI" and "IITTA", "VIBUS" is a known family of potters "who worked in the second and first centuries B. C." The

second is probably "G-AMURI" and represents Gaius, Amurius whose stamp occurs on a dish found at Hofheim in the Claudion period (A.D. 41—54). The last name is construed as "a retrograde stamp of the Augustan potter P. Attius...........in use within the period 11 B.C. to A. D. 16."

The evidence furnished by the beads is also interesting. "Coloured beads have a very wide distribution in India and outside. In India, apart from a sort of prototype at Mohenjodaro (3rd Millenium B. C.) they are known to occur at Chandravalli (Mysore State) in a stratum which produced two denarii of Tiberius (died A. D. 37) Konḍāpur and Māski (Hyderabad State) in strata said to be of the Āndhra period, Śiśupāl (Orissa), Kauśāmbī (U.P.) Pātaliputra, (Bihar) Durgāpur (Bengal) and at Taxila (2nd Century B. C. to 2nd century A. D.). Outside India coloured beads at Gezar in Palestine have been dated B. C. 1000—500." Fragments of Roman lamp and Roman glass bowels also yield the 1st century B. C.—A. D. The Terra-cotta pieces and the unfinished (?) carved ivory are interesting for comparative study. They combine, in our opinion, to indicate that the ivory statuette found at Pampeii in strata concerning this period and described by Dr. Vogel in the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology Vol. XIII, is in all probability, a production of South India of this period. The ivory piece has a close resemblance in its unfinished state to the back view of that figure though the full ornamentation is absent, the terra-cotta fragments show similarity of facial expression ornamentation and technique, making allowance for the greater exhuberance and richer variety applicable to a female figure. The epigraphical evidence on local potsherds indicate that their language is akin to that of some fifty short epigraphs found engraved on the rocks at natural rock shelters in South India especially in the district of Madura and Tinnevelly. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti observes that though the script appears to belong to the first or second century B. C. when compared with the script of other Brāhmī inscriptions, particularly those found in the north, it should be relegated to a later period, as the development of forms after separation would not be so fast in Drāviḍi as in the regular Brāhmī. A very useful and instructive comparative chart of characters from

early South Indian inscriptions (Bhaṭṭiproḷu, Arittapatti, other Madura and Tinnevelly, Sittanavasal, Arikamedu and Mamandur) furnishes material for independent study and collating with letters of other known dates.

The monograph refers also to sherds of Chinese Celadon ware and Coḷa coins of the eleventh and adjacent centuries A. D. These are said to relate "not to the occupation of the site, but to its spoilation in the middle ages." We do not agree in this off-hand conclusion. Arikamedu could not have contained only the single factory or the single warehouse that has been excavated on the sea shore. Admittedly there must have been population, both north and south along the coast and west in the interior. Nor can it be asserted yet that the entire town and port was abandoned immediately after the second century A. D. More extensive excavations and also trial pits in a considerable larger area will have to be undertaken before the latest date of the port can be settled. A reasonable presumption would be that the population continued and developed eventually into the modern Pondicherry.

In a note on the Terra-cotta figures at Pondicherry, published with illustrations in January 1940 (Vol. XXX, No. 3) issue of the Q.J.M.S. Mr. S. Srikantaya of the Mythic Society, referred to the rich archæological material awaiting the explorer's spade in the environs of Pondicherry—especially at Arikamedu near Kakaiyan Tope which would open up possibilities of the existence of a civilization in South India far anterior to any known to us and further study and research may be expected to yield splendid results.

We may now conclude this rather longthy review with a brief indication of the points brought out in Mr. Piggot's article. He discusses "the relationship, cultural and chronological, of Mohenjodaro and Harappa culture, with that of other Asiatic cities and cultures of the fourth and third millennia B.C." The area covered by the study divides itself into two geographical regions: the Baluchistan highlands on the West and the riverine plains of the Indus and the Punjab in the east. In the Baluchi hills we have variety amid poverty; in the Indus and the Punjab uniformity and

prosperity. The chronology of these cultures is discussed in the logical stages by which their dating is built up, first by determining the relative position of one culture to another by stratiography, next by comparison of significant types and styles of ornament between the cultures, and thirdly by comparison and equation between the Indian cultures and those of Iran and Iraq where a mass of detailed stratiographical and chronological evidence exists. Without accepting the parenthetical observation of the author that the Iranian cultures were parental to those of India—a point still under controversy—we may note the following classification of local cultures and their relative sequence :—

(*A*) Red ware

(i) The Zhob culture; (ii) The Harappa culture including Chanhu-daro, Strata I a, b & c, prevalent in cities and towns and villages in Southern Sindh, and (iii) Cemetry " H " ware at Harappa.

(*B*) Buff ware (all peasent communities)

(iv) Quetta ware, (v) The Amri culture localised in Sindh, (vi) The Nal culture, (vii) The Kulli culture, (viii) The Sahi-tump culture [vi, vii & viii, belong to South Baluchitan], (ix) The Jhukar culture, and (x) The Jhangar culture, [ix and x known only in Sindh].

At Amri, Lohri and Pand Wahi, Amri culture settlements were found below Harappa culture levels. At Chanhu-daro, of the five occupation levels, the first (lowest) three were successive rebuildings of a Harappa town, the fourth of the Jhukar and the fifth and latest of the Jhangar culture. Lohunjodaro yielded the same story. " Shahi-tump burials have been made into the summit of a small tell which consisted of at least two building levels of the Kulli culture and which yielded also a fragment of a clay toy cart of Harappa type." Nal similarly shows itself later than Zhob and perhaps of Kulli occupation. " Summing up this evidence we find that, taking Harappa culture as a central point, the Amri culture and Quetta were as earlier, as the Kulli culture as partly at least contemporary, and Jhukar, Shahi-tump, Cemetery ' H ' and

Jahangar as subsequent. Nal may be partly contemporary and partly later." Turning to stylistic comparisons, a general similarily in such stylistic features as pottery-decoration need not necessarily imply contemporaneity, but may involve a relationship in which one culture is ancestral to another at some remove of time. Specific and detailed similarly may well establish a presumption of chronological equality. While on economic grounds the Harappa culture stands unparalleled among the Indian sites as a complex urban civilisation in contrast to simple peasant economics, parallelism is still traceable in common pottery motiffs and designs. "The sum of information from this line of enquiry agrees well with that derived from the extant stratification and amplifies it to some extent." The next stage of the essay "The Indian Culture in their Wider Setting" is very instructive and interesting but bristles with controversial matters not admitting of consideration in a review. On the materials available, the Harappa culture cannot be dated earlier than 'mid-early dynastic times' and the end of the culture can be placed will be, 'the third dynasty or Ur or even Isin-Larsa times, and "The Zhob culture must overlap with Hissar I" and "Kulli as firm chronological contacts with early dynastic I in its 'scarlet ware' analogue and again with Early Dynastic III in the carved steatite boxes." On the probable origin of the Indian cultures, Mr. Piggot makes the following observations: "The true origins of the Harappa culture are still unknown, its appearance in the Indian culture-sequenec marks precisely the same step forward as the establishment of the Early Dynastic period in Summer and that alone of the lesser barbaric culture identified in north-western India, Kulli has direct contact with the centres of higher civilisation." A comparative chronological table of Iranian, Iraqi and Indian cultures and an ample bibliography conclude this most interesting and informative essay which is illustrated with a map and two full pages of decorative sherds relating to the several cultures.

In conclusion, we hope that the future issues of the Bulletin will be representative of all branches of the Department's

activities and that the claims of epigraphy and sculpture and of exploration of historical sites of the early centuries preceding and succeeding the Christian Era will not be overlooked.

A. V. RAMANATHAN

Constituent Assemblies of the World. By T. S. Venkataraman, B.A., B.L. The Madras Law Journal Office, Mylapore, Madras. Price Rs. 6-0-0.

MR. T. S. VENKATARAMAN has collected together in a short compass accounts of the various Constituent Assemblies which have been formed with the purpose of drafting constitutions for different states commencing with the first convention held in the State of Massachussets in the United States of America in about 1780 and onwards. Those of us who have been following the events connected with the Indian Constituent Assembly which is now sitting or are concerned with similar work elsewhere can look forward to and this book with instruction and profit. The wisdom of the ages and the available talent—legal, commercial, administrative and otherwise has been harnessed into the work of the Indian Constituent Assembly which is now both a formal institution for drafting the constitution for the Indian Union and also a deliberative legislative assembly for legislative business and to act as a check on government in whose hands have been entrusted the destinies of three hundred millions of the Indian people.

S. S.

Telugu Literature (Andhra Literature). By Prof. P. T. Raju, M.A., Ph.D., Sastry. The P. E. N. Books. The Indian Literature. No. XV. Edited by Sophia Wadia for the P.E.N. All India Centre and published by the International Book House, Ltd. Ash Lane, Fort, Bombay, for the P.E.N. All-India Centre, Aryasangha, Malabar Hill, Bombay. Price Rs. 2-8-0.

IT is a happy idea of the P.E.N. All India Centre to bring out this series of books devoted to each of the main Indian Languages

dealing with (1) the history of its literature, (2) modern developments, and (3) giving an anthology. The general editor, Srimati Sophia Wadia who founded the Indian Centre in 1933 deserves to be congratulated on the excellent team she has secured for the fruition of this object. As remarked by her in her foreword (written in 1944) " India's servitude affects her indigenous culture on every plane.........Mainly because of her pre-occupation (with politics) Indians have under valued the literary unfoldment of the last few years in the different linguistic areas ".........." Our many languages are channels of cultural enrichment. Many educated Indians are not familar with the literary wealth of any Indian language other than their own." The series therefore fulfils a real need. But it needs to be supplemented by similar manuals in every Indian language about the history and specimens of literature of every other language.

Telugu was the first language to present to her people the rich productions of Bengal, in renaiscent India. Latterly, there has been an organised movement among literary writers in Indian languages to present translations from sister Indian languages with this end.

The work before us has a scholarly introduction from Dr. Sir C. R. Reddy, the talented Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, himself one of the pioneer renaiscent Telugu Literature. He rightly points out that though the book is called "Telugu Literature", it is wider in its scope and is a treatise on the Āndhra contribution to the culture of India. He claims that " there are hardly any other people in India who have played so various and illustrious a part in the political and in the cultural development of India" and raises the questions " who were the original Āndhras? Are they the same as the Telugus?" He summarises the three hypothesis underlying the discussions on this point as follows:

(1) " A North-Indian Āryan tribe with an Āryan language but which adopted non-Āryan culture and thus incurred the contempt of the Āryans; (2) A North-Indian non-Āryan tribe which adopted the culture and the language of the Āryans and (3)

A South Indian Dravidian tribe which assimilated Āryan culture and some elements of Prākrit but retained both racially and linguistically its essential Dravidian character." The Author has also contributed a learned foreword which he commences with the words "No correct estimation of any provincial literature is possible without taking into consideration the contribution which that province has made to Sanskrit literature......So far as it is influenced by Sanskrit, the poetry of the whole of India will look alike. Still, there is poetry of a purely indigenous growth, particularly folk-songs, heroic ballads, cradle songs, songs of benedictions. As an instance of local usage, the author cites, the comparison of a pretty face to a parrot, unlike the Sanskrit where comparisons with moon, or lotus is more common. The comparison with parrot appears to be common for Dravidian languages *cf.* Tamil folk-song

"பஞ்ச வர்ண கிளிபோலொரு பெண்ணை நான் பார்த்து
வந்தேனய்யா சாமி."

Regarding the author's claim of Āndhra contribution to Indian culture, it is however to be remarked that in some points, it is too broad; for example he claims Bhavabhūti for Āndhra though he worked in Kashmir, because he went to Kashmir from Vidharbha, bordering on Telingana, and Gunadhya for Āndhra because he was a minister to a S'ātavāhana emperor, and Nāgārjuna, Ārya Deva and Dignaga for Āndhra because "the Āndhra was the place of their activities" though "they may not have been born in the country between the Godavari and the Krishna, and who their parents were, it is difficult to establish." Even leaving these examples, Āndhras have made valuable contribution. Dr. Raju elucidates several interesting points in old Āndhra literature in a brief compass of fifty-one pages and he richly deserves the pronouncement by Dr. C. R. Reddy about the work as "one of the most valuable ever-produced on the subject of Telugu literature set against the back ground of general Āndhra culture and history." But his summary of modern trends is not equally successful or masterly. He does little justice to the part played by the writers in the wake of the great Veeraśalingam for national, social and cultural awakening in the past half century or more. The Anthology could also have been more representative

of passages with local colour. In their English garb, the reader can hardly detect what the Āndhra genius is in those passages. Villuputtur from Krishnadeva Rāya's *Āmuktamālavāda* and Awakening from Rayaprolu Subba Rao are exceptions.

A. V. R.

Aryan Path. January 1948. Vol. XIX. No. 1.—Edited by Sophia Wadia, "Aryasangha" Malabar Hill, Bombay. 6. Published by Kishansingh Chavda at Sadhana Press, Raopura, Baroda. Annual Subscription Rs. 6 0-0, single copy annas 12.

CAREFULLY edited, beautifully got up and punctual in publication, the Aryan Path has attained a recognised position amongst the thought-provoking journals of the world during the past eighteen years and we have no doubt it will continue to assist man in the development of his personality and moral elevation. Through it is spread also the spiritual light of India to the four corners of the globe in a sprit of humility and tolerance, the well-known traditional path which forms the basis of all, particularly Indian, philosophy. Of the articles in the January 1948 issue the testimony of George Fox, Founder of Quakerisn proclaiming a denial of all outward wars and strife, and fightings with outward weapons for any end or under any pretence whatever; may be mentioned. True civility stands in truth. Sri Krishna Prem writes on the origin and development of man from what he regards as a factual point of view; Dr. Margaret Smith brings together a few sparkling gems from Arabic mines to enrich the present-day world improvement. Roger N. Baldwin draws a very hopeful prospect for the noble cause of liberty for the individual and the state. In 'Socialism Come True', Dr. Anita Kashyap gives an account of the practical system of socialism worked out by Jewish agriculturists in Palestine. In Metaphysics as well, as Sir Aurobindo says reason was the helper though today it is the bar: Justice rules the world. Several books are reviewed and extracts from addresses given.

A new feature is the attention given to the work of the Indian Institute of Culture in Basavanagudi, Bangalore, devoted to cultural uplift.

S.S.

SANSKRIT

Anūpasiṁhacuṇāvatāra. By Vitthala Krishna. Edited by C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., Ph.D., Phil. (Oxon.). The Ganga Oriental Series. Dedicatory Volume. Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner.

THE book under review is the Dedicatory volume of the Ganga Oriental Series published by the Government of Bikaner. This work is in ten chapters, and it extolls the noble qualities of Mahārāja Anūpsinghji who ruled Bikaner from 1669-1698 A.D. Auūpsinghji founded the kingdom of Bikaner in the third quarter of the fourteenth century A.D. The rulers of Bikaner were not invested with the title of Mahārāja but Anūpsinghji was created one by Aurangazeb in 1687 A.D. on account of the valour displayed by Anūpsinghji in the capture of Bijapur. Anūpsinghji took great interest in collecting rare works in Sanskrit and built the Library at Bikaner. It is said that he even purchased the library of Kavindracārya of *Kās'i* (Benares) who was the guru of the ill-fated Dara Shukoh. Even now in the library of Bikaner rare works in Sanskrit are available.

The author of the work was a contemporary of the Mahārāja. He has taken a number of years to write this work, for in one place he calls him crown prince and in another place as Mahārāja.

The author praises Nārāyaṇa in the benedictory ślōka. In the tenth ślōka of the *āśīrvādavatara*, he mentions the *prapatti-mārga* of the Śrīvaiṣṇvas. His words are: "न्यासे श्री दशतत्वके निजपदस्वात्मार्पकाणां यथा." Evidently the author must be a Śrīvaiṣṇava and such being the case it becomes highly doubtful whether the author could have composed the last ślōka in praise of Śiva.

The Editor has taken great pains in translating this work. In some places the translation is faithful to the original sense. In one place the English equivalent of 'नाकभवन' '*nākabhavana* is given as ' the abode of the Nāgas'. In another place 'निधीश्वर' *nidhis'vara* is translated as 'You support treasures (i.e. you are *Vaishravana*).'

The Government of Bikaner has undertaken to publish rare works in Sanskrit under the Ganga Oriental Series and it is but befitting that this dedicatory volume should deal with the founder of the library. We wish all success to this noble enterprise.

M. B. N.

Akbarasāhi-Sringaradarpana of Padmasundara. Edited by K. Madhava Krishna Sarma, M.O.L. The Ganga Oriental Series. No. 1. Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner.

AKBARSAHI-SRINGARADARPANA is a work on poetics written by Padmasundara, a contemporary of the Moghul Emperor, Akbar. The first three chapters deal exclusively with the various phases of *Sṛngāra rasa.* The last chapter is devoted to the consideration of the other *rasas* and also the four *rītis* (varieties or styles). This work follows closely Rudrata's Sṛngaratilaka. In the appendix is given another work on the same subject known as Sṛngāra Sanjīvini.

The author is a Jaina by religion and has written this work under the patronage of the Muslim ruler, Akbar. In the introductory ślōka the name of the Supreme Being is given as Rahmān and the work proves clearly that Akbar was tolerant towards all religions and that God could be worshipped by any name. The editor has rightly remarked " It is that man has only one religion and that is the worship of the Supreme Light. How such accidental differences as of culture, language and geography sink into insignificance in the realisation of this Truth ! " The appendices, notes and Index make for an easy understanding of the work.

M. B. N.

Jagadvijayacchandas of Kavindracharya. Edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. The Ganga Oriental Series. No. 2, Anup Sanskrit Library. Bikaner.

Two *dandakas* of the same name are published in this work ; the first in praise of S'iva who is called *ma* in the work and the second, a short one, wherein a devotee prays that both himself and the

path of *bhakti* which he has resorted to for the realisation of the *ātman* and for the attainment of God be protected from the evil eye. The author, in both these works uses different words in different senses in different contexts. To understand the correct meaning the reader has to resort to the lexicons dealing with *nānārthas*.

The author, Kavindracārya, lived in the court of Shah Jahan, the Great Mughal Emperor. He was running a Sanskrit College at *Kās'i* (Benares), the centre of Hindu pilgrimage. He was paid an annual pension of about Rs. 2,000 which was stopped by Aurangazeb as he found that this poet was the *guru* of his brother Dara Shukoh.

According to the editor Jagadvijaya is Jehangir, the great Mughal emperor. The work is of a high literary merit and we commend it to all lovers of Sanskrit Literature.

M. B. N.

Bhagavad Gīta—*Bharateeya dras'anāni cha.* By Mahamahopadhyaya Anantakrishna Sastri. Published by the Bharateeya Vidya Bhavan. Bombay. Price Rs. 2-12-0.

BHAGAVADGĪTA is the book for all times and for all climes. It has solved the many knotty problems of life. Mahatma Gandhi once remarked that he would refer to this book whenever he was in a dilemma. What then is the cause for such a state of affairs ? The great epic, Mahābhārata, itself has given the solution. It states that Gīta enjoins everyone to do his duty consistent with God's plan and purpose in life. The duty has to be done for duty's sake. No one should aspire for the results arising therefrom. According to Rāmānuja the performance of these duties will lead one ultimately to take up the path of *bhakti* for the realisation of the *ātman* and attainment of God. S'aṅkaracārya says that these duties will be the stepping stone for resorting to the path of *Gñāna-Yōga* that is essential for the realisation of the oneness of the *ātman* with the absolute.

Mahābhārata gives a definition of duty in the following ślōka:

धार्मेणार्थागमं कुर्याद् धर्ममर्थयुतं चरेत् ।
अविरोधेन कामस्य धर्ममर्थं च संचरेत् ॥

But Mr. Anantakrishna Sastri adds a rider to this definition. He says that every one must do the duties mentioned in the *s'āstra*, consistent with his status in life. He quotes with authority:

धर्माविरुद्धोभूतेषु कामोऽस्मि भरतर्षभ ।

(Gita 7-11).

Kāḷidāsa comes to the same conclusion when he says:

अनन धर्मः अविशेषमद्य मे त्रिवर्गसारः प्रतिभाति भामिनि ।
त्वया मनोनिर्विषयार्थकामया यदेक एव परिगृह्य सेव्यते ॥

(Kumārasambhava 5-38).

In the book under review Mr. Anantakrishna Sastri deals with the various systems of Indian philosophy mentioned in the S'āntiparvan of the Mahābhārata *viz.*, the S'ānkhya of Kapila, Yoga of Patanjali, Mimamsa, Pancharatra and Pasupata. Incidentally he mentions Jainism, Buddhism and the religion of the Cāruvākas. He shows, in these ten essays how the Bhagavad Gīta could be interpreted according to the various systems of Indian philosophy. He comes to the conclusion that the interpretation of S'aṅkaracārya is the correct one. But he does not dismiss the other systems as worthless. He says that the other systems are there and they are intended only for those who move in a lower plane. Ultimately these systems lead to the realisation of the oneness of the *ātman* with the Brahman.

Mr. Anantakrishna Sastri mentions certain facts in this book. They are (1) The *Umāmahēśvara Samvāda* of the *Anusasaneeka parvan* has been held to be an interpolation by the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona; (2) The *Pāñcharātra* āgamas approve of the *Pishtapasu yōga*; (3) Dr. Sukthankar has proved that the first ślōka of the Mahābhārata should be:

नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् ।
देवीं सरस्वतीं व्यासं ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥

In the critical edition published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute the word 'चैव' *chaiva* is used in place of 'व्यासं' *Vyāsam*. But Lokamanya Tilak alone has tried to establish this emendation of this ślōka in his Gita Rahasya.

The teachings of the Gita have been held to be the same as that which is taught in the Upanisads. In the Mahābhārata the following ślōka occurs :

सर्वोपनिषदो गावो दोग्धा गोपालनन्दनः।
पार्थो वत्सः सुधीर्भोक्ता दुग्धं गीतामृतं महत् ॥

Mr. Anantakrishna Sastri has made a critical study of the Gita in about ninety-four pages of printed matter. This work possesses a high literary merit and it is the first of the kind in the field of higher criticism. We recommend this book for the general public.

M.B.N.

HINDI

Gita Mañjari.—An Anthology of old Rajasthani Bardic Songs. The Sadul Oriental Series.—Dedicatory Volume. Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner.

THE SADUL Oriental Series of which the work under review is the Dedicatory Volume is devoted to the publication of Hindi and Rajasthani works. Gita Mañjari is a collection of songs composed in honour of the rulers of Bikaner. The songs are of high literary merit. Poet-Laureates were encouraged by the Bikaner Royal House as is evident from the several songs composed by those poets on occasions. It has to be remembered that the motto of these rulers was "पिता समान प्रजा नै पाळै".

We wish every success to this new endeavour of the Bikaner Durbar.

M. B. N.

OBITUARY

Rajasevasakta Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar

DR. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar was one of the founders of the Mythic Society and a pioneer in the field of South Indian History and research. First a teacher of history and then a Professor of English in the Central College, Bangalore; from 1914 a Professor occupying the chair of Indian History and Archæology in the University of Madras, he had endeared himself to his students and colleagues many of whom, under his careful training, occupy high positions in the academic world. He reconstructed the History of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries of India by explaining and removing many a misunderstanding and misconception in its earlier setting. As associate editor of the Indian Antiquary and himself the editor of the Journal of Indian History for over two decades till it was handed over to the authorities of the Travancore University, in the Indian Historical Records Commission of which he was a member for many years, as Honorary correspondent to the Archæological Survey of India and in the Senate, Academic Council and Syndicate of both the Mysore and the Madras Universities, his contribution to histrocial research was appreciable for half a century.

S. S.

Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy

IN the sad demise of Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy in September 1947 at Boston where he was Curator of the Eastern Section of the Museum of Fine Arts, India in particular and the world of artists in general have lost a great exponent of Indian Art. He came of a noble and distinguished family of scholars of Ceylon. He was a scientist by training and his mysticism and his pride in the glory of the ancient culture of the Āryans made him rebel against the conventions of progress indtroduced by western contacts. If Svami Vivekananda spread

the spiritual and philosophical glories of India in the Western Hemisphere, Dr. Coomaraswamy's influence in that Hemisphere fused Indian thought in Art and Philosophy, for Indian Art has close contact with Indian Philosophy. He was an institution by himself. He lived to a ripe age of seventy years and his passing away will be deeply mourned by artists all over the world.

S. S.

Rajasevasakta D. Venkataramiah

RAJASEVASAKTA D. VENKATARAMIAH, an erudite Sanskrit scholar and of a highly philosophical bent, was in the Education Department of the Government of Mysore and retired as the Deputy Inspector-General of Education. He was Chairman of the Board of Sanskrit Studies in Mysore for many years. His works are published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series and in the pages of this journal. His discourses on Philosophy and Oriental Literature were scholarly and helped students to solve many controversial problems.

S. S.

Dr. M. H. Krishna

THE Science of Archæology has lost a well-known scholar in the demise of Dr. M. H. Krishna. In 1924 he visited many places in the Continent of Europe, secured a Doctorate in the Paris University and conducted researches in the Egyptian Antiquities under the care of Dr. Flinders Petri. He was appointed Professor of History in the University of Mysore in 1926. He also became the Director of Archæology in Mysore, which place he held with distinction till his death. Besides, he was an ardent lover of Kannada Literature and was associated with the Mythic Society for over two decades and served on its Committee for many years.

S. S.

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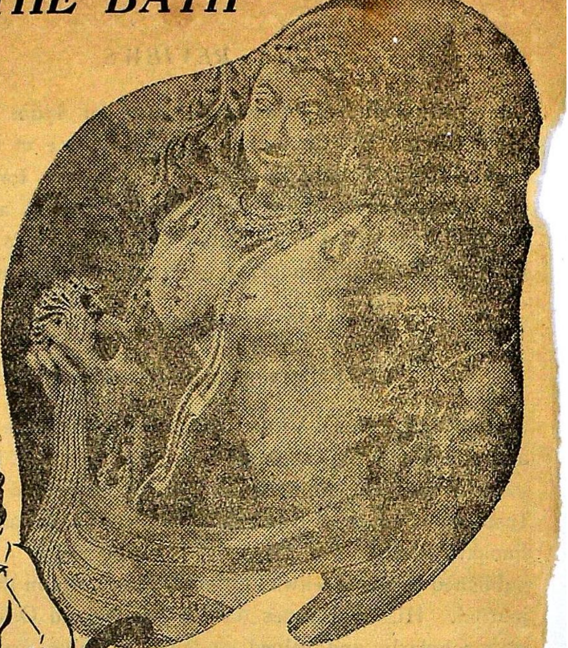

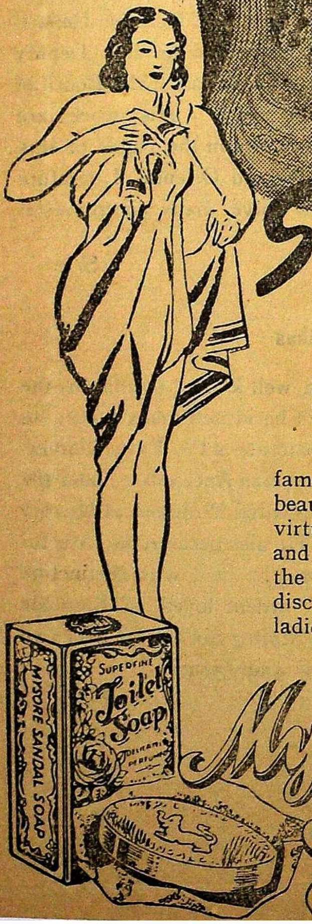

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